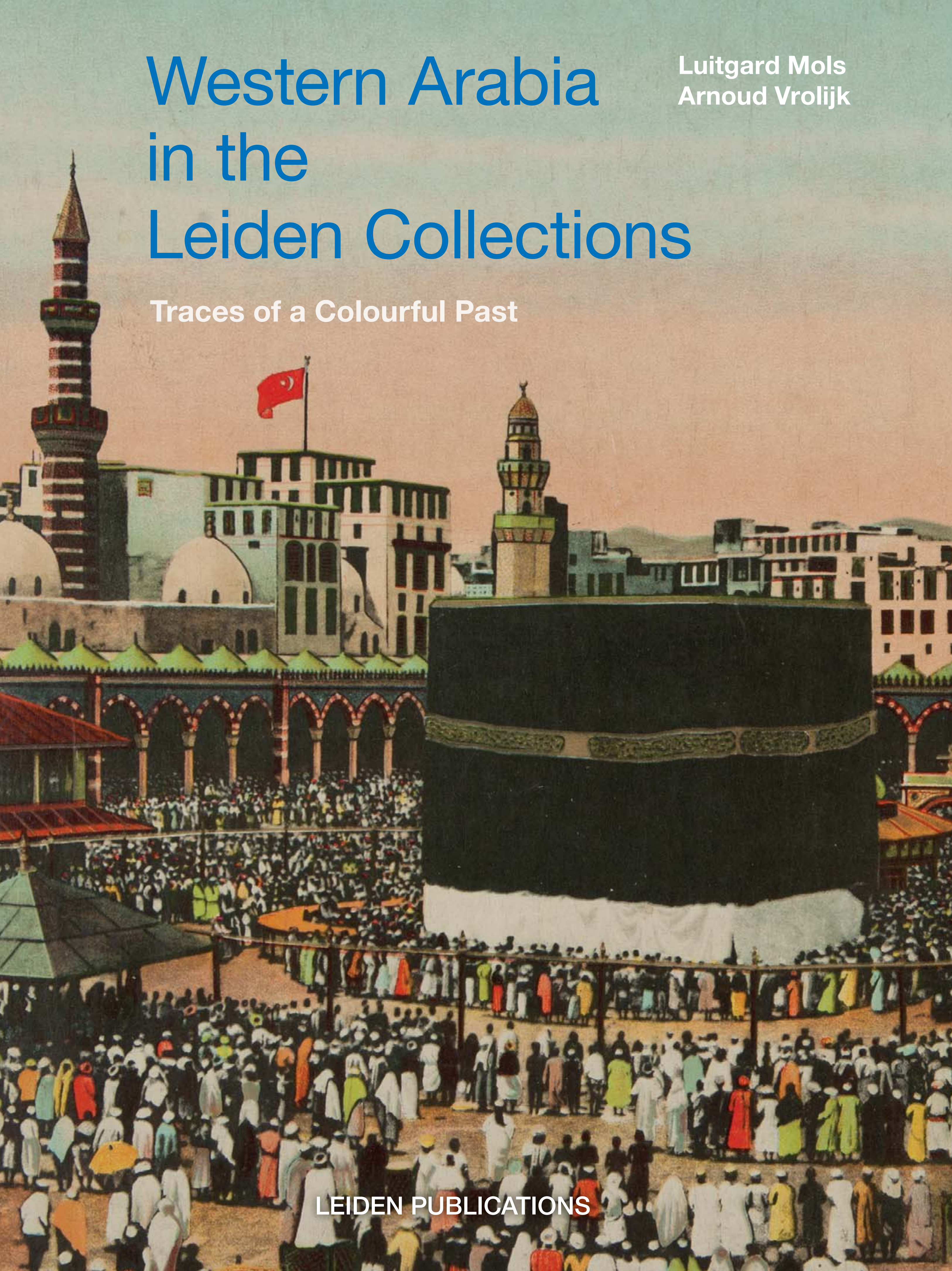
Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections

Traces of a Colourful Past

Luitgard Mols
Arnoud Vrolijk



LEIDEN PUBLICATIONS

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Foreword

In 2017 Leiden University is celebrating its Asia Year. The University Library at Witte Singel, an attractive design from the late 1970s, has been completely modernised and refurbished and is now adding an additional floor, creating The Asian Library to house the University's world-class collections from China, Japan, Korea, the Indian subcontinent and Southeast Asia, and also to support excellent research and teaching. This operation reflects not only an acute awareness that the world is changing but also an ambition to be part of that change. Likewise, the Museum Volkenkunde (Museum of Ethnology) in Leiden, founded in 1837, has undergone a complete overhaul in recent years to enhance the presentation of its rich collections to a growing national and international public. In 2014 Museum Volkenkunde merged with the Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam and the Afrika Museum in Berg en Dal to form the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (National Museum of World Cultures). Its collections – containing some 375,000 objects and 750,000 photographs – are of world-class quality and reflect the Museum's mission of enhancing an open view on the world.

The close ties between Leiden University and Museum Volkenkunde go back a long way. More often than not, the curators who work with the Museum's collections also teach at the University and vice versa, and collections and expertise are mutually exchanged with a refreshing liberality, as in the 2013–2014 exhibition *Longing for Mecca. The Pilgrim's Journey* on the Hajj to Mecca, which attracted a record number of visitors to the Museum. The book you are now holding in your hands is yet another expression of this cooperation.

Although geography works very well as a guiding principle in the organisation of a library or museum, we fully realise that the human endeavour often transcends physical or virtual boundaries. During the Hajj, millions of pilgrims travel to Mecca from all corners of the globe. From the early 1870s until 1950 the Dutch were part of this global experience in their role of colonial rulers of Indonesia. From the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah they facilitated the Indonesian pilgrims' journey, while keeping a close watch on their movements. Consuls, scholars from Leiden, shipping agents and occasional travellers acquired books, photographs and ethnographical objects that together draw a vivid picture of everyday life in Western Arabia during that period. These collections could never have been assembled without the support of the Consulate's Indonesian dragomans or interpreters, who spoke Arabic and were well acquainted with Arabian society, or the contribution of local Arab scholars, professionals and merchants. To our knowledge, this tripartite cooperation between Dutch, Indonesians and Arabs was unique at the time.

Materials on paper were dispatched to the Leiden University Library, while the artefacts found a new home at Museum Volkenkunde. In this volume, *Western Arabia in the Leiden Collections: Traces of a Colourful Past*, authors Luitgard Mols and Arnoud Vrolijk seek to bring both collections together again by highlighting a wide selection of objects against the background of their original historical context, enhanced with more than 160 illustrations.

We eagerly avail ourselves of the opportunity to thank Saudi Aramco, the national petroleum company of Saudi Arabia, and its daughter company, Aramco Overseas in The Hague, for their generous support of this book project. Aramco has also supported the Museum Volkenkunde's 2013–2014 exhibition on the Hajj and its current semi-permanent display on Mecca and the pilgrimage. We appreciate the fact that Aramco, a global player par excellence, still cherishes the history and culture of its home country.

Kurt De Belder
University Librarian
& Director of Leiden
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The Netherlands

MUSEUM VOLKENKUNDE LEIDEN

Acknowledgements

This book could never have been written without the kind and generous support of many friends and colleagues. First of all we would like to gratefully acknowledge Aramco, the national oil company of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, whose grant – and implicit trust – made the book possible. The Leiden University colleagues who supported our proposal in their discussions with Aramco were Lilian Visscher (Head of Alumni Relations and Funding), Kasper van Ommen (External Relations Officer) and Professors Léon Buskens and Petra Sijpesteijn as directors of the LUCIS Research School. At Leiden University Press, publisher Anniek Meinders and her team provided their expertise to see our book through. Erin Martineau proofread our English text with meticulous care. Ben Grishaaver, Irene de Groot, Peter Hilz, Nico van Rooijen and Hans Tisseur photographed the objects or made digital reproductions with endless patience. As always, designer Jelle Hellinga (The Hague) turned our text and images into an object of beauty.

Furthermore, the following colleagues and friends helped us out in all sorts of ways, from sharing information and unearthing inaccessible publications, to giving us encouragement in our project: Pieter Allersma, Jake Benson, André Bouwman, Fransje Brinkgreve, Laura van Broekhoven, Ester de Bruin, Rob Buijing, Ingeborg Eggink, Werner Ende, John Frankhuizen, Ulrike Freitag, Aarnout Helb, Ahmad al-Jallad, Nadine Jouhat, Michael Kemper, Jan Krugers, Richard van Leeuwen, Harm Linsen, Wayne Modest, Dirry Oostdam, Anne van Oostrum, Liesbeth Ouwehand, Simon Pelle, Venetia Porter, Karin Scheper, Annette Schmidt, Kathryn Schwartz, Mirjam Shatanawi, Joop Span, Lex Verhey, Anita Verweij, Wonu Veys and Bert van der Zwan. Needless to say, the responsibility for any errors or omissions rests entirely with us.

We thank our partners Harold van der Weegen and Jenny de Roode for their patience and support during the preparation of this book.

Finally, we jointly dedicate this book to our children Alexandra, Clarice, Clarisse, Nadine, Steven and Veronica.

October 2016,
Luitgard Mols and Arnoud Vrolijk

Introduction – Collectors in Western Arabia

It is nothing short of a miracle that the provincial town of Leiden, the Netherlands, possesses two fascinating collections related to Western Arabia, also known as the Hejaz. The region owes its fame first and foremost to Mecca and Medina, the holiest cities of Islam. One collection, consisting mainly of historical objects of everyday use, clothing items, pilgrim souvenirs and other artefacts, is preserved in the Museum Volkenkunde (established in 1837); the other, containing Islamic manuscripts, photographs, letters, printed books and audiovisual materials, is kept in the library of Leiden University (founded in 1575). Together, they provide a unique insight into a colourful and vibrant society which has all but vanished under the impact of changing political and religious allegiances and the onslaught of modernity.

The fact that these collections exist at all can only be explained in terms of the Dutch colonial presence in the Indonesian Archipelago prior to 1942. Under the legislation of the Netherlands East Indies freedom of religion was granted to Muslims, who then as now constituted the vast majority of the population. This freedom included the right to go on Hajj, the pilgrimage to Mecca which is incumbent on every Muslim who can afford to do so. Nonetheless, this right was granted only with the greatest reluctance, since the Dutch colonial administration feared that pilgrims would turn into 'fanatical Muslims' once they were exposed to co-religionists from other parts of the Islamic world not under European colonial domination, such as the Ottoman Empire. These misgivings were only increased by the fact that the Holy Cities of Islam were impenetrable to non-Muslims. As a result, most political unrest in the Dutch colonies was attributed to pilgrims returning from Mecca.

It was only after the emergence of steam navigation in the Indian Ocean and the Red Sea in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the consequent rise in the numbers of pilgrims, that the need arose for a more reliable infrastructure for the Indonesian Hajj. Authorities preferred that pilgrims be transported by Dutch – or at least European – shipping companies, and their movements were controlled by an elaborate system of visas and other travel documents. In 1872 the Ottoman Empire, which included most of the Arab world, allowed the Dutch to establish a consulate in Jeddah, the main port of entry for sea passengers [Plate 1]. The first Dutch consul in Jeddah was Rudolph W.J.C. de Menthon Bake (1811–1874).[1] In 1930 the consulate was upgraded to the status of legation. In all, nineteen Dutch diplomats served in the Hejaz until 1950, when the last envoy, Herman Henry Dingemans (1907–1985), formally handed over the legation to the newly independent Republic of Indonesia.[2]

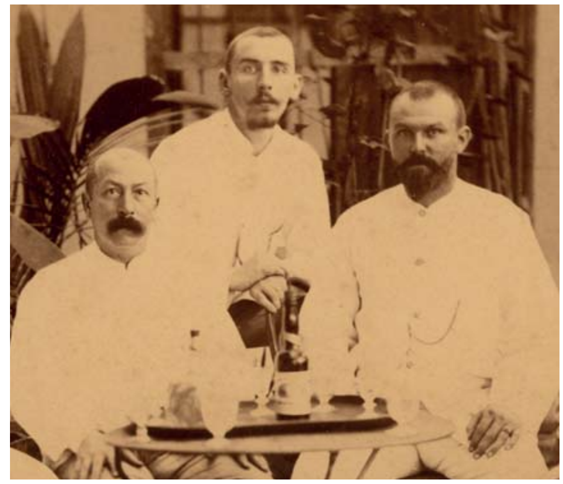


[Plate 1] Photograph of the exterior of the Dutch Consulate, Jeddah c. 1910, probably by Consul N. Scheltema. [UBL Or. 26.365: 1]

Jeddah was never an easy post for the Dutch consuls, who were ill adapted to the scorching heat and humidity of the Hejaz coast. Although there had been no major outbreaks of violence against European residents since 1858, they were tolerated rather than accepted in the heartland of Islam. The social contacts of the tiny Dutch colony, consisting of the consul and his staff, the odd shipping agent and the representatives of trading firms such as the Nederlandsche Handels Maatschappij, were limited to their counterparts from other European colonial powers. For their relations with the Muslim population, the Dutch were largely dependent on their dragomans, interpreters who usually were highly educated Indonesians who spoke Arabic and were well acquainted with Arabian society.



[Plate 2] Photograph of the drawing room of the Dutch Consulate, Jeddah c. 1910, probably by Consul N. Scheltema. [UBL Or. 26.365: 3]



[Plate 3] Photograph of the European staff of the Dutch Consulate, Jeddah 1884. From left to right: Consul J.A. Kruyt, C. Snouck Hurgronje and P.N. van der Chijs, detail. [UBL Or. 26.404: 1]

Indonesian pilgrims journeyed to Mecca and Medina in large numbers – in many years they were even the largest contingent – and life at the Consulate was consequently hectic during the pilgrimage season, but otherwise the Dutch consuls and their staff had more than enough leisure time on their hands [Plate 2].

Fortunately, many consuls put their leisure time to good use. Johannes Adrianus Kruyt (1841–1928), for instance, who was consul from 1878 until early 1885, took an active interest in the Hejaz and in 1880 published a lengthy article on Jeddah and its hinterland.[3] It was the same Consul Kruyt who, when on leave in the Netherlands in 1884, contacted the young Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), an Arabist and Islam scholar from Leiden who had written his doctoral dissertation on the origins of the Hajj.[4] With the help of Kruyt, Snouck Hurgronje obtained a government grant of 1500 Dutch guilders (roughly 700 euros) to travel to Jeddah and monitor the radical tendencies among the Indonesian pilgrims and residents in Arabia. Together they arrived in Jeddah in August 1884. Snouck Hurgronje, who spent the first months as a guest of the consul, converted to Islam and in February 1885 travelled onwards to Mecca, where he observed local life until he was expelled from Arabia in August 1885, just before the Hajj of that year. His two-volume monograph *Mekka* [5] was critically acclaimed and paved the way for several influential advisorships on Islamic, indigenous and Arab affairs in the Netherlands East Indies. He stayed in the colonies from 1889 until 1906, when he took up the chair of Arabic in Leiden. He retired in 1927 and died in 1936, only six years before the Dutch domination of Indonesia would come to a sudden and violent end.[6]

Both during his stay in Arabia and in the ensuing years, Snouck Hurgronje was an avid collector of ethnological research materials, irrespective of purpose or medium, which could complete the picture of his first-hand observations of local Meccan life. These materials were shipped to Leiden with the generous help of Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs (d. 1889), a Dutch shipping agent and vice-consul in Jeddah [Plate 3]. The powerful and overbearing Snouck Hurgronje is often credited exclusively with the Arabian collections in Leiden, but this is only partly true. Consul Kruyt, to name but one example, was a collector in his own right who donated a sizeable collection of artefacts to the Museum Volkenkunde. Snouck Hurgronje's interest in Arabia dwindled during his stay in the Netherlands East Indies, but was revived after his return to Leiden in 1906. He advised the government on the appointment of Dutch consuls in Jeddah, many of whom had also been his own students. He corresponded frequently with them, but there is nothing to prove that the consuls collected materials exclusively at Snouck Hurgronje's behest. For instance, he may not have been aware that Emile Gobée (1881–1954, consul in Jeddah between 1917 and 1921) was privately collecting ethnographica, as a paragraph from a letter by Consul Daniël van der Meulen to Snouck Hurgronje suggests: 'Then I heard to my great surprise that Gobée was ever busy collecting ethnographica here. Didn't you tell me that he had failed to do this, in spite of your insistence?'[7]

Until recently, little attention was devoted to the Indonesian dragomans of the Dutch Consulate, such as the Javanese aristocrat Raden Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat (c.1854–c.1914)[8] [Plate 4] or the Sumatran Haji Agus



[Plate 4] ‘A Javanese resident of Mecca’, photograph of dragoman Raden Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat, probably by C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1884 or 1885. [UBL Or. 26.403: 66]



[Plate 5] Selection of Arabian everyday wares and souvenirs. Chromolithograph in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka*, Haag 1888, plate 37. [UBL 21522 A 16]

Salim (1884–1954),[9] one of the fathers of Indonesian independence. As Muslims they were in an ideal position to gather information, render services and seek out reliable suppliers of ethnological artefacts in Mecca. The local scholars, merchants and dealers, whose expertise and commitment were absolutely indispensable to the Dutch collectors, remain even more obscure, with the notable exception of Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar ibn ‘Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi, a physician who took photographs of Mecca during and after Snouck Hurgronje’s sojourn in Arabia. Yet Snouck Hurgronje managed to avoid mentioning his Arab associate’s name but not his role in the creation of many attractive photographs of Mecca and the Hajj, and he chose to describe him as his ‘pupil’ and as a mere tool in his hands.[10] Perhaps it is better to describe the work of all those concerned as a collective effort; in any case it is now generally accepted that the contribution of the Oriental collaborators has ‘coloured Western scholarly interpretation of Muslim society’.[11]

Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden

The late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ethnographic Hejaz collection in Museum Volkenkunde (Museum of Ethnology) consists mostly of artefacts that were originally used in a Western Arabian domestic setting, either urban or Bedouin. Although the collection is far from comprehensive, the objects visualise key social phenomena such as the presentation of food, welcoming and farewell rituals, dress codes and pastimes. The collectors chose to assemble both everyday wares and luxury items whose richness of materials, decorative patterns and wide colour palette attracted attention [Plate 5]. And it is these characteristic details that escape us in the black-and-white photographic images of the Hejaz, in which objects were present but hardly ever the main focus. Moreover, the objects exemplify the high level of craftsmanship in late nineteenth-century Western Arabia, when even water jars of cheap unglazed earthenware were embellished with intricate geometric patterns.

This collection is striking in several ways. Firstly, contrary to expectations, the collectors chose to represent both secular and religious aspects of daily life instead of focusing exclusively on religious artefacts. In fact, less than fifteen per cent of the more than 400 Western Arabian artefacts relate to the Islamic faith or the Hajj. While this might partly be explained by the interest of the collectors, perhaps more important is the fact that this was entirely in line with the wide scope of the collections from Japan, China and Indonesia, which had already been part of Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden for decades and which probably served as an example. Secondly, it is noteworthy that the collectors chose to portray late nineteenth-

century Meccan society as almost devoid of modern development. Western imported objects that were rapidly replacing local kitchen utensils, display objects or lighting devices, such as candelabra in the houses of the well-to-do, were hardly collected at all.[12] This can be explained as a typical orientalist approach in which the romantic East was portrayed as static and unchanging, but it might simultaneously have been a deliberate choice to focus on, and preserve, what was rapidly disappearing.

The Western Arabian collection in Museum Volkenkunde was assembled between 1880 and 1939 by ten Dutchmen: six consuls/envoys at the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, a vice-consul, two academics and an engineer. With a total of 86 objects dispatched to the Museum in five separate batches between 1880 and 1885, Consul Kruyt laid the foundation of the Museum's Western Arabian collection. He was the most active collector after Snouck Hurgronje. His enthusiasm seems to have caught on: his direct successors, Joan Adriaan de Vicq (1857–1899, consul between 1885–1889), Hendrik Spakler (1861–1936, consul between 1889–1892) and Hendrik van der Houven van Oordt (1865–1892, briefly consul in 1892), donated twelve, 44 and 21 objects to the Museum respectively. It remains unclear, though, how these four consuls actually acquired the objects and to what extent local informants aided them. There can be no doubt, however, that collecting activities in Mecca or Medina required the assistance of Muslim intermediaries. In their letters to Museum director Lindor Serrurier, the consuls remained silent on this topic. An exceptional recognition of the involvement of the Muslim citizens of Jeddah was a brief reference in the *Nederlandsche Staats-Courant* (Dutch Government Gazette). It mentioned that three gentlemen from Jeddah, Hasan Jawhar, Sayyid 'Umar ibn Muhammad al-Saqqaf and Yusuf Qudsi Efendi, had donated several items of dress and a saddle to the Museum through the intervention of Consul Kruyt.[13] The article did not disclose any information about their background, but all three appear in Snouck Hurgronje's diary or correspondence. Hasan Jawhar belonged to a merchant family of British Indian descent. His son 'Ali was one of the first to welcome Snouck Hurgronje upon his arrival in Jeddah. 'Umar al-Saqqaf ('El Sagoff'), from a merchant family with strong ties to Southeast Asia, was active in the transport of pilgrims from Singapore. He was also the owner of the Dutch Consulate building. Jawhar and al-Saqqaf were in business with Vice-Consul Van der Chijs. Qudsi, apparently a convert, was the dragoman of the British Consulate.[14] In all probability, Yusuf Qudsi and 'Umar al-Saqqaf also aided the Dutch consuls in acquiring objects.[15]

Consul Kruyt practiced what he preached: in a public lecture and article he called for scientific research on the Arabian Peninsula in the fields of geography, philology, ethnography and botany and on the phenomenon of pilgrimage.[16] He surmised that collecting naturalia, ethnographical objects, coins and inscriptions would not only advance Dutch academic knowledge of the Arabian Peninsula, but also provide information for possible trading opportunities. This topic was close to Kruyt's heart, as he envisioned the development of a Dutch trading establishment in Jeddah as an alternative to Port Said, Egypt. That his taste for collecting remained strong is obvious from a letter to Museum director Serrurier in which Kruyt articulated his intention to continue his collecting activities for the Museum after his relocation to his new post in Penang in the Straits Settlements.[17] Serrurier's enthusiasm for expanding the collections and his personal involvement with the collectors might have also stimulated the consuls in procuring the objects. They not only provided him with lists of the objects' names in Arabic, in transliteration and in Dutch but also added precious information about their particular functions and uses.[18]

Kruyt's initiative to recommend Snouck Hurgronje as a special advisor to the Dutch government in the Hejaz in 1884 was also instrumental for the growth of the Museum's collection of Western Arabian artefacts. Snouck Hurgronje's academic interest in the region was already evident from his research into the origins of the Hajj. He started collecting objects during his stay in the Hejaz, in Jeddah from August 1884 to February 1885 and subsequently in Mecca until August 1885. These complemented the observations he was entrusting to paper and the visual information derived from his photographs of people and daily life. He did not allow his hasty departure in the summer of 1885 to compromise his collecting activities. During the next three years he time and again made requests to Vice-Consul Van der Chijs and dragoman Raden Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat to collect objects for him. The latter also did so in Mecca.[19] Their extensive correspondence shows Snouck Hurgronje's persistence and Van der Chijs's willingness to procure a wide range of objects, from a *Kiswa* fragment that once covered the Ka'ba, earthenware water jugs, musical instruments, clothes, sandals and jewellery, to bottles of Zamzam water [Plate 6].[20] Of the latter he demanded several litres with the aim of scientifically analysing the water's components, and comparing this with the results of water tests from other Hejazi sources.[21]



[Plate 6] Fragment of the *Kiswa*, the textile hanging of the Ka'ba, Mecca 1880s. Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-152]



[Plate 7] A modest display of Arabian artefacts on a windowsill in a room of the Oosters Instituut/Islam Stichting, Leiden c. 1930. Note the early Saudi flag on the right (*Jaarverslagen Oostersch Instituut* 1928–1930, facing p. 18). [UBL V 1303]

In 1887 Snouck Hurgronje made his first donation to the Museum Volkenkunde. It consisted of a carpet broom and six wooden combs embellished with geometric patterns. With a loan of 216 objects in 1897, which was turned into an official donation in 1919, the collection of Western Arabian artefacts suddenly became substantial.[22] But even before their dispatch to the museum, people could already get a visual impression of part of his collection by consulting the coloured lithographs of 52 objects in his *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka*.[23]

Two later diplomats, Emile Gobée and Cornelis Adriaanse (1896–1964, chargé d'affaires in Jeddah 1931–1939), continued the collecting practice of their predecessors, but they did not dispatch all of their collected items to Museum Volkenkunde during their lifetime or correspond about them with the then acting director. Gobée seems to have collected ethnographic objects privately (see above, p. 7), and only one of his collected items, a precious Kiswa fragment, was loaned to the Museum by his widow in 1959 five years after his death. It was immediately recognised as an important piece, displayed and published.[24]

Besides having built up a private collection, which was donated to the museum a year after his death in 1964, Cornelis Adriaanse became committed to collecting for the Islam Stichting (Islam Foundation). Set up by Professor Cornelis van Vollenhoven (1874–1933) in Leiden in 1927, it aimed to collect artefacts from Muslim countries. In 1929 a small number of Islamic objects were displayed in a room of the Foundation in the former Heilige-Geest Orphanage in Leiden [Plate 7]. In 1937 this display was relocated to the former home of Snouck Hurgronje at Rapenburg 61, Leiden.[25] When the Islam Stichting was dissolved in the late 1950s, the ownership of its collection was transferred to the Oosters Instituut or Oriental Institute. The Oosters Instituut (pre-war spelling Oostersch Instituut) was founded in 1927 by Snouck Hurgronje and occupied the same premises as the Islam Stichting at the Orphanage and subsequently at Rapenburg 61. It has survived until the present day as a grant-giving body.[26] In 1958 it presented part of the collection to Museum Volkenkunde as a permanent loan.

The involvement of these diplomats and scholars eventually resulted in what is now a unique ethnographic collection, one that is contextualised through their observations and photographs and those of their contemporaries. The collection could not have become significant without the contribution of local Muslims. They shared common goals: to further the study of Islam and its Holy Cities in the Netherlands and to present to the Dutch public an image of social, secular and religious life in Mecca and Jeddah through objects of everyday use and luxury artefacts.

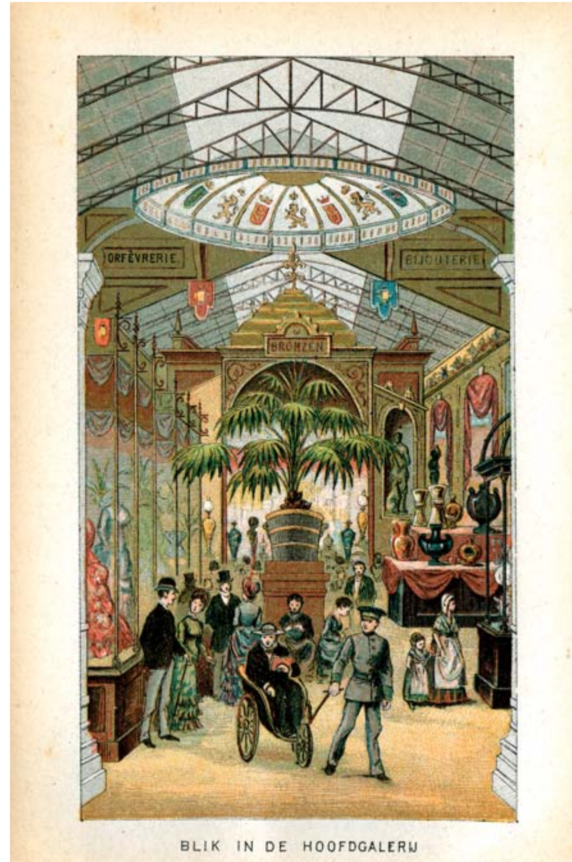
Leiden University Library

The Amin al-Madani Manuscript Collection

Islamic manuscripts related to Western Arabia and the Holy Cities have found their way to the library of Leiden University ever since the second half of the seventeenth century. Many early acquisitions hail from the private



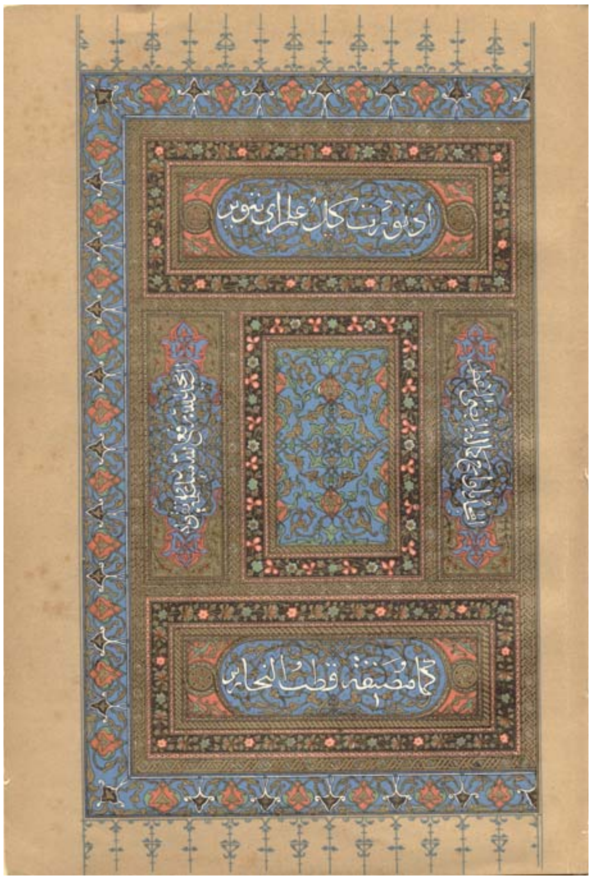
[Plate 8] Studio photograph of the Medinese scholar and bookseller Amin al-Madani, by Jan Goedeljee, Leiden 1883. [UBL Or. 18.097 S 48.10]



[Plate 9] The central gallery of the International Exhibition, Amsterdam 1883. Chromolithograph in *Herinnering aan Amsterdam in 1883*, Amsterdam 1883, plate 14. [UBL Hotz 4849]

collection of the German Levinus Warner, an envoy of the Dutch Republic to the Ottoman Empire, who lived in Istanbul from 1645 until his untimely death in 1665. Precious manuscripts from all of the Arabic-speaking provinces of the Empire gravitated towards the capital Istanbul, the unrivalled centre of the antiquarian book trade. Warner assembled about a thousand manuscripts, which he left to Leiden University after his death.[27] That Istanbul held its own as a centre of the manuscript trade and manufacture until the twentieth century is amply shown by manuscripts with exquisite miniatures of Mecca and Medina in the collection of the German Orientalist Franz Taeschner (1896–1967), part of which was sold to Leiden University in 1970.[28]

The richest source of Western Arabian materials at Leiden University, however, is the manuscript collection of Sayyid Amin ibn Hasan al-Halawani al-Madani, acquired in 1883, only a year before Snouck Hurgronje's voyage to Jeddah and Mecca [Plate 8]. Al-Madani (d. 1898) was an Islamic scholar from Medina who for some time taught at the Prophet's Mosque.[29] His financial situation, however, forced him to opt for the book trade as a sideline, and by 1880 he was established as a bookseller in Cairo. In 1883 al-Madani took a large collection of more than 650 Arabic manuscripts to the Internationale, Koloniale en Uitvoerhandel Tentoonstelling (International, Colonial and Export Exhibition), held in Amsterdam from May to late October [Plate 9]. The fairgrounds were located at what is now Museumplein, immediately behind the new Rijksmuseum. Registered in the official catalogue under no. 6323 and the barely recognisable name 'Mouhammed Madi' of Cairo, al-Madani exhibited his treasures in a small Egyptian wing. It seems he was the only participant who dealt in antiquarian books or manuscripts, let alone Middle Eastern manuscripts.[30] Snouck Hurgronje met al-Madani at his stand in Amsterdam and again later that year in Leiden at the Sixth International Congress of Orientalists. The young scholar prepared a Dutch translation of al-Madani's memoirs of his visit to the Netherlands, *Het Leidsche Oriëntalistencongres. Indrukken van een Arabisch congreslid* (The Leiden Congress of Orientalists. Impressions of an Arab Conference Member).[31]



[Plate 10] Facsimile of an opening page of Or. 2530, a Persian manuscript in the Madani collection. Frontispiece in C. Landberg, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes provenant d'une bibliothèque privée à El-Medîna …*, Leiden 1883. [UBL OOSHSS A 8]



[Plate 11] 'A Meccan Doctor', photograph of Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar ibn 'Abd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi, probably by C. Snouck Hurgronje, Mecca 1885. [UBL Or. 26.403: 26]

In his translation of al-Madani's travel reminiscences, Snouck Hurgronje writes that he came to Amsterdam in the hope of finding a market for his manuscripts, but that he spent months on end at the fair in complete isolation and apparently without any hope of attracting a buyer.[32] But al-Madani was by no means acting on his own. The Swedish Orientalist Carlo Landberg (1848–1924), an acquaintance of al-Madani from Cairo, negotiated the sale of the collection to the Leiden firm of E.J. Brill and also prepared an inventory, *Catalogue de manuscrits arabes provenant d'une bibliothèque privée à El-Medîna et appartenant à la maison E.J. Brill* (Catalogue of Arabic Manuscripts from a Private Library in Medina, belonging to the Firm of E.J. Brill).[33] As a frontispiece a magnificent illuminated page from a Persian manuscript was chosen [Plate 10].[34] The same year, Brill resold the collection to Leiden University for the substantial amount of 14,250 Dutch guilders, or approximately 6500 euros. The necessary funds were provided by the Dutch government rather than the University.[35] The manuscripts were newly catalogued by the Leiden professor Michael Jan de Goeje and his assistants, but unfortunately their work remained unfinished.[36]

The Amin al-Madani collection is of mixed Middle Eastern origin, but the same holds true for any other collection now preserved in Saudi Arabia. The Holy Places of Islam have always been – and still are – crucibles of cultures and nations. The uniform bright-red leather binding and industrially manufactured marbled paper of many volumes are strongly reminiscent of the styles then prevalent in Cairo.[37] Yet the ex libris of owners from Mecca and Medina indicate that at least part of the collection may very well have belonged to a private library in Medina, as Landberg's catalogue asserts. There were many such libraries in Medina, both public and private: in 1936 the German Orientalist Otto Spies (1901–1981) calculated the manuscript holdings at an impressive 50,000 volumes.[38] From this point of view the Madani collection was only a modest one, but in 1974 the Saudi scholar and bibliographer Abbas Saleh Tashkandy nevertheless mentioned al-Madani's name in relation to the 'depredation of a national treasure [of manuscripts]'.[39] Unfortunately, he neither specified cases of book theft nor identified possible owners.

Photography and Film

The resourceful Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje enjoys the reputation of having been the first Westerner to take photographs in Jeddah and Mecca. In 1884 he spent 600 Dutch guilders – a considerable part of his 1500-guilder government grant – on a camera of no doubt impressive dimensions and a set of glass plates. On his arrival in Jeddah in August 1884, he started taking pictures in the Consulate's courtyard of bewildered-looking pilgrims arriving from all parts of the Muslim world, but most particularly of Indonesians, the subject of his reconnaissance trip. He also portrayed scenes from Jeddah's street life. Shortly after his arrival in Mecca on 22 February 1885 he had his camera sent on from Jeddah. In Mecca, however, where religious sensitivities were stronger than in Jeddah, he persuaded the local élite to appear before the lens in a studio setting, but felt reluctant to take open-air pictures. The man who saved the day for Snouck Hurgronje was the Meccan doctor Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ghaffar ibn ʿAbd al-Rahman al-Baghdadi [Plate 11]. Inquisitive and open-minded, he provided Snouck Hurgronje with a room to serve as a studio and offered to take photographs in public spaces which appeared to be impracticable or improper for Snouck Hurgronje. When the latter was forced to leave Mecca in August 1885 he left his camera with the doctor in exchange for his promise to continue taking pictures.



[Plate 12] Photograph of a sunlit street in Jeddah, by pharmacist H.F. Tillema, Jeddah 1927 or 1928. [UBL Or. 18.097 S 67.2: 26]

The intricate dealings between the two men, assisted by Vice-Consul Van der Chijs, are beyond the purview of this book, but they have been studied in detail in recent years.[40] Suffice it to say that the men had widely different interests: Snouck Hurgronje typically insisted on 'authentic' Oriental pictures of shopkeepers, women, slaves, children, pedlars, muleteers et cetera, thereby suggesting a society untouched by modernity, whereas Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ghaffar looked upon photography as an attractive and modern business venture. As a consequence, the Meccan doctor showed a marked preference for portraying local notables, who supposedly paid handsomely for the privilege, while neglecting the common townsfolk. Nor did Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ghaffar hesitate to introduce modern Western elements into his studio settings, such as occasional tables, little piles of books, pretty bouquets and European bentwood furniture, much to Snouck Hurgronje's distress.[41] Recent research has also shown that Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ghaffar adopted a perfectly businesslike attitude by using pictures from other photographers and signing them as his own.[42] Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the Meccan doctor kept his promise and sent a considerable quantity of photographs to Van der Chijs, who duly forwarded them to Leiden. Many of these exposures contain breathtaking scenes of the Hajj which demonstrate his natural talent as a photographer. Snouck Hurgronje used a narrow selection from his own photographs and those of Sayyid ʿAbd al-Ghaffar for both his albums of plates, *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka* (1888a) and *Bilder aus Mekka* (1889). The vast majority of photographs, however, have never been published. In both albums the signatures of the Meccan doctor have been erased from the plates.

More photographs were sent to Snouck Hurgronje after his appointment as professor of Arabic in 1906. Practically all consuls, starting with Nicolaas Scheltema (1870–1955, consul between 1905 and 1911), sent smaller or larger collections to him. Some photographs were taken by the consuls themselves, as in the case of Scheltema and Charles Olke van der Plas (1891–1977, consul between 1921 and 1926),[43] but most were acquired from commercial photographers who were active in Mecca, such as H.A. Mirza & Sons of Delhi, India, or the Anatolian-born Mahmud Hamdi ʿArabgirli, whose identity has recently



[Plate 13] Edison phonograph and wax cylinders, used for the earliest sound recordings in the Arabian Peninsula by Consul N. Scheltema and staff, Jeddah 1908–1909.
[UBL Or. 27.130, Or. 27.131]

been established by the Saudi scholar Meraj Nawab Mirza.[44] It is remarkable that so few photographs in the Leiden University collections were taken or acquired by Daniël van der Meulen (consul between 1926 and 1931 and chargé d'affaires between 1941 and 1945), who was an enthusiastic photographer as is evident from his extensive collections in the Tropenmuseum, Amsterdam.

Not only diplomats sent photographs to Leiden, but also a number of Dutch travellers, who for the greater part were medical practitioners. A case in point is Dr Dirk Gerrit Weigardus van Voorthuysen (1888–1942), an ear, nose and throat specialist who had a practice in Oegstgeest, the Netherlands, and another one in Surabaya, Netherlands East Indies. In 1926 he made delightful pictures of Jeddah and surroundings, which he sent to Snouck Hurgronje the following year.[45] Another set of attractive, semi-professional photographs was taken by the millionaire pharmacist and philanthropist Hendrik Freerk Tillema (1870–1952), who visited Arabia in 1927 or 1928 [Plate 12].[46] Both men visited Arabia after the establishment of Saudi rule, when the security situation had vastly improved and pilgrims once again returned in great numbers after years of (civil) war.

In the same decade the Dutch filmmaker George Krugers (1890–1964) from Bandung, Netherlands East Indies, made the first moving images of Mecca. With no previous knowledge of Islam or its rites, Krugers sought the advice of Haji Agus Salim, who had returned to his native country. He accompanied a group of Indonesian pilgrims on the Hajj of the year 1346 (May-June 1928), and his documentary film *Het Groote Mekka-Feest* (The Great Mecca Feast) had its premiere on 8 November 1928 in the presence of Crown Princess Juliana.[47]

Audio Recordings

When living in Batavia (present-day Jakarta), Snouck Hurgronje owned an Edison 'phonograph', a forerunner of the gramophone, which played wax cylinders instead of flat records. On his departure for the Netherlands in 1906 he had this machine shipped to Jeddah, where it was used in 1908 and 1909 under the supervision of Consul Scheltema, the shipping agent Muhammad Jamal Taj al-Din (Tadjoedin) and dragoman Haji Agus Salim to record Qur'an recitation, music and speech. They are beyond doubt the oldest historical sound recordings ever to have been made in the Arabian Peninsula. Both the phonograph – still in working order – and approximately 355 wax cylinders are preserved in the Leiden University Library; a detailed inventory by Anne van Oostrum is now in press [Plate 13].[48]

Exhibitions

In the past few decades, the Leiden University Library has hosted several exhibitions of the Arabian collections. In 1985, on the centennial of Snouck Hurgronje's stay in Mecca, curator Jan Just Witkam organised *Honderd Jaar Mekka in Leiden 1885–1985* (One Hundred Years of Mecca in Leiden, 1885–1985), with a selection of 59 objects from the collections of Leiden University and Museum Volkenkunde.[49] In 2004 Dirry Oostdam and Jan Just Witkam highlighted the photographic legacy from Arabia in *West-Arabian Encounters*.[50] In 2007, on the 150th anniversary of Snouck Hurgronje's birth, Arnoud Vrolijk and Hans van de Velde curated the exhibition *Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936): Orientalist*.[51]

Already in the year 1885 the Museum Volkenkunde allowed the public to view the results of the collecting activities in Western Arabia when it opened a new exhibition space devoted to both Persian and Arab objects.[52] The official number of visitors in the second quarter of 1885, however, amounted to no more than 62, but figures show that visiting museums was not a popular pastime in the Netherlands in this period.[53]

Since 2011, two large showcases with a selection of some 50 Western Arabian artefacts have given an impression of late nineteenth-century everyday life in Mecca and Jeddah in the Museum's Asia section. An exhibition on the Hajj, entitled *Verlangen naar Mekka. De Reis van de Pelgrim* (Longing for Mecca. The Pilgrim's Journey), which was held in Museum Volkenkunde in 2013–2014 and curated by Luitgard Mols, featured many artefacts from the Arabian collections [Plate 14].[54] It was the Museum's largest exhibition on an Islamic subject, attracting more visitors than ever before to a temporary exhibition. More recently, a scaled-down version of the exhibition, which also includes objects from contemporary Hajj-related collecting endeavours, has been put on semi-permanent display in one of the Museum's galleries.



[Plate 14] Photograph of the opening of the exhibition *Longing for Mecca* at Museum Volkenkunde, 9 September 2013. In the centre a *mahmal* with the monogram of Ottoman sultan Abdülaziz (1831–1876). [Nasser D. Khalili Collection of Islamic Art, London, TXT 38]

In the same spirit, this book aims to deepen our understanding of the unique Western Arabian cultural legacy in Leiden, and to enhance our awareness of the history of the Holy Places of Islam.

Notes

1. Staatsalmanak 1873, 63.
2. De Vries & Daniëls 1992, 8; for a list of consuls or envoys see Appendix II, p. 183.
3. Kruyt 1880.
4. Snouck Hurgronje 1880.
5. Snouck Hurgronje 1888–1889.
6. For general information on Snouck Hurgronje see Charité et al. 1979–2008, II, 523–526 (Drewes); Vrolijk & Van Leeuwen 2014, 117–150.
7. Van der Meulen to Snouck Hurgronje, Jeddah, 24 March 1926, UBL Or. 8952 A: 691, fol. 4a.
8. Laffan 1999; 2003, 59–61; 2003a.
9. Laffan 2003, 181–191.
10. Snouck Hurgronje 1889, intr.
11. Laffan 2003a, 359.
12. Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 146.
13. Nederlandsche Staats-Courant, 12 September 1884.
14. Snouck Hurgronje's Jeddah diary, UBL Or. 7112, 2–4; Laffan 2003, 51, 105, 249.
15. Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Chijs, Leiden, 9 February 1886, UBL Or. 8952 L 4: 22.
16. Kruyt 1880, 344.
17. Kruyt to Serrurier, Jeddah, 18 December 1884, RMV Archive, series dossier RV-465.
18. RMV Archive, series dossiers RV-345, RV-346, RV-431, RV-465, RV-543, RV-559, RV-628, RV-811, RV-819, RV-870, RV-884, RV-1117, RV-1973, RV-B106.
19. Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Chijs, Leiden, 27 October 1885; idem, Leiden, 22 December 1885, UBL Or. 8952 L 4: 21.
20. Van der Chijs to Snouck Hurgronje, Jeddah, 7 November 1887, UBL Or 18.907 S 32: 1; idem, Jeddah, 24 February 1888, UBL Or. 18.907 S 32: 2.
21. Idem, Jeddah, 24 February 1888, UBL Or. 18.907 S 32: 2.
22. UBL Or. 26.706, dated Leiden, 11 March 1897.
23. Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, pls. 37–40.
24. RMV Guide 1962, 49. See also below, pp. 56-57.
25. Jaarverslagen Oostersch Instituut 1928–1930, 18; *ibid.* 1934–1940, 49.
26. De Bruijn 1989, 108–114.
27. Warner 1970; Vrolijk et al. 2012.
28. Schmidt 2000–2012, III, 26–27.
29. Snouck Hurgronje 1897; Encyclopaedia of Islam 1913–1938, I, 328, s.v. Amin.
30. Officiëele catalogus 1883, 306–307; Herinnering aan Amsterdam 1883, map, no. 92.
31. Snouck Hurgronje 1883; Zaytsev 2004.
32. Snouck Hurgronje 1883, 8–9.
33. Landberg 1883.
34. A manuscript of *Lawami' al-asrar* (The Glittering Secrets), a philosophical commentary by Qutb al-Din Razi (d. 1364 CE), UBL Or. 2530, fol. 2a.
35. Van der Zande 1999, II, 707; Vrolijk 2014a, 121.
36. De Goeje et al. 1888–1907.
37. Personal communications from Dr Kathryn Schwartz and Jake Benson, which are hereby gratefully acknowledged.
38. Spies 1936, 94.
39. Tashkandy 1974, 20, 28–29; Witkam 2006–...., III, 119.
40. UBL Or. 8952 L 4: 16–34; Or. 18.097 S 32: 1–2; Oostdam & Witkam 2004; Witkam 2007; Van der Wal 2011.
41. Van der Wal 2011, 43. Many photographs with these Western props are kept in UBL Or. 26.368.
42. Vrolijk 2013.
43. UBL Or. 12.288 M; Or. 26.365.
44. Mirza 2011, 137–141.
45. UBL Or. 12.288 B.
46. UBL Or. 18.097 S 67.2; a similar set in album RMV RV-10765; Charité et al. 1979–2008, V, 507–509 (E. Vanvugt).
47. In 2015 Leiden University acquired a digital copy of the film and original archival materials (UBL Or. 27.020, Or. 27.021).
48. UBL Or. 27.130, 27.131; Gavin 1988; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 108–110; Vrolijk & Van de Velde 2007, 92–99; Van Oostrum 2012; eadem 2016; eadem forthc.
49. Witkam 1985.
50. Oostdam & Witkam 2004.
51. Vrolijk & Van de Velde 2007.
52. Rassers 1937, 32.
53. Nederlandsche Staats-Courant, 4 August 1885.
54. Mols 2013.

ا كبروا الرجال فلما الزام النسا فعلام يقول رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ان في الجنة احد
ج سا فهما من وراء الخيم سبعين حلة ما فيها عيب وللترمذي صحيح عن انس عن النبي
ان الرجل في الجنة يتسع سبعين زوجة فقلنا يا رسول الله ايطيقها قال يعطى قوة مائة رجل
ي يا رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال ان ادنى اهل الجنة منزلة الذي له ثمانون الف خادم و
تنصب له قبة من لولو وياقوت وزبرجد كما بين الجابية وصنعاء وفي
رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قال حدثني جبريل قال يدخل الرجل على الحورا فتستقبله بالمعانقة
الله عليه وسلم فبأي بنان تعاطيه لو ان بعض بنانها بدا لغلب ضوؤه ضوء الشمس والقمر ولو
طاقات ما بين المشرق والمغرب من طيب ريحها فبينا هو متكي معها على اريكته اذ اشرف
ى الله قد اشرف على خلقه فاذا حورا تناديه يا ولي الله اما لنا فيك من دولة فيقول من انت
ي ما لا الله [illegible] من المزيد فيتحول عنها فاذا عندها من الجمال والكمال ما ليس مع الاولى
على نور من فوقه واذا حورا ثانية تناديه يا ولي الله اما لنا فيك من دولة فيقول من انت
ما لا الله فلا تعلم نفس ما اخفي لهم من قرة اعين فلا يزال العبد يتحول من زوجة الى زوجة ولا نعيم
زيدان ثم السحابة باهل الجنة فيقول ما تريدون ان امطركم فلا يتمنون شيئا الا امطرهم حتى
لا قولن امطرنا جوارا مزينات

هذا خط شيخ الاسلام والمسلمين القامع للباطل وناصر الحق ونصر الدين
الامام العلامة والحبر البحر الفهامة مجدد القرن الثاني عشر
بلا شك ولا ريب الشيخ محمد بن عبد الوهاب بن سليمان بن علي رحمه الله تعالى .

1

Religion in Western Arabia

More than any other region in the world, Western Arabia or the Hejaz has been shaped and moulded by religion. Around 610 CE the Prophet Muhammad started preaching the Message of Islam in its major city Mecca. Today, after fourteen centuries, more Muslims than ever before pray towards Mecca and its holiest shrine the Ka'ba, a cube-shaped stone edifice of great antiquity. The Holy Places of Islam are simultaneously exclusive and inclusive. They are closed to non-believers, but Muslims from all over the world regard them as part and parcel of their identity. By their sheer physical presence the believers, both natives and immigrants, have created a rich and unique cosmopolitan culture in Mecca, Medina and Jeddah.

The text of the Holy Qur'an remains unchanged in its eternity, but its physical reflection on parchment or paper is subject to historical development and even fashion. Likewise, Islamic practice in Western Arabia has also undergone change. In the late nineteenth century it was deeply influenced by the latter-day Ottoman Empire and Egypt. Popular religion played an important role, with its devotion of the Prophet Muhammad and other holy men, mysticism and magic. The scholars who taught at the Great Mosque of Mecca were often of foreign extraction. A first-hand witness of this colourful society was Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje (1857–1936), a Dutch scholar of Islam who stayed in Jeddah and Mecca between 1884 and 1885.

From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, however, a different movement started gaining ground in the eastern part of the Arabian Peninsula. The scholar Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792) from Nejd, who was inspired by the medieval Syrian thinker Ibn Taymiyya, preached a return to the pristine austerity of early Islam. His vision of Islam eventually prevailed with the ascendancy of the Saudis in 1924–1925.



An Ancient Fragment of the Qur'an

The Qur'an is the beginning and the end of Islamic practice, and it is only fitting that a book on historic Western Arabia should open with an ancient fragment of God's Word. The revelations to the Prophet Muhammad were initially transmitted orally, and the first organised attempts at collecting the revelations in a written form were undertaken only after his death during the rule of the third caliph, 'Uthman ibn 'Affan (644–656 CE). No complete Qur'an survives from the first generations of Islam, but hundreds of smaller and larger fragments on parchment are held in public collections in Europe. They had once been committed to special repositories for discarded Qur'ans in the oldest mosques of Cairo and Damascus, where they were rediscovered in the course of the nineteenth century.

The first Qur'ans were written in the *Hijazi* script, a large, slanting writing style which was also used for rock inscriptions. Producing such a Qur'an was a costly affair, requiring the skins of many sheep or goats, and the task of copying the text in such a bold and regular script would have been laborious and time consuming. Devoid of any ostentation, the result is in full harmony with the majesty of the text. The fragment shown here is from sura 16 'The Bees', verses 96–105, which contain some of the basic tenets of Islam: God's omnipotence, Muhammad's Message, heavenly reward for the believers and punishment for sinners in the hereafter.

This leaf and several others were acquired by Leiden University Library in 1979 from H.C. Jorissen, a former Dutch ambassador to Lebanon. Recent radiocarbon dating by the Franco-German Coranica project has shown that this fragment dates from the second half of the seventh century CE, only twenty to seventy years after the death of the Prophet. As such, it takes us back to a time when people who had a living memory of Muhammad were still walking the streets of Mecca and Medina. As a mark of respect, the parchment has been meticulously restored by Dr Karin Scheper in the conservation laboratory of the Leiden University Library. [AV]

Heilige Boeken 2014, 78–79; Déroche 2014; Marx & Jocham 2015; Coranica Website 2016

Manuscript of a *Hijazi* Qur'an fragment on parchment, c. 650–700 CE, fol. 1a, c. 40x34 cm, acquired 1979. [UBL Or. 14.545b]



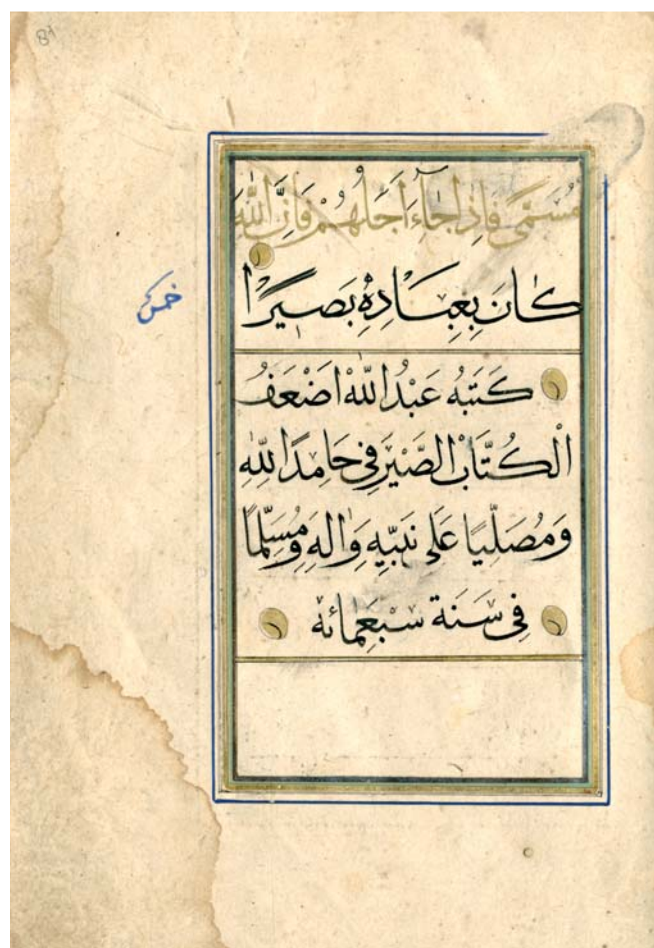
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله رب العالمين الرحمن الرحيم
مالك يوم الدين إياك نعبد وإياك
نستعين اهدنا الصراط المستقيم
صراط الذين أنعمت عليهم غير
المغضوب عليهم ولا الضالين
بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
الحمد لله الذي خلق السموات والأرض
وجعل الظلمات والنور ثم الذين كفروا

An Elegant Selection from the Qur'an

As compared with the imposing Arabic script of the Qur'an fragment on the previous pages, this small selection of five Qur'anic chapters makes a different impression altogether. Dated 700 (1300 CE), it is about 650 years younger than the fragment on parchment. In this time span, the Arabic script evolved into calligraphy, a refined art form which still enjoys the highest prestige in the Muslim world. According to the colophon (fol. 81a), the manuscript was copied by 'Abdallah al-Sayrafi of Tabriz, Iran, one of the most outstanding calligraphers of the fourteenth century CE. He studied with a pupil of Yaqut al-Musta'simi, a slave and eunuch of the last Abbasid caliph of Baghdad. Yaqut, who witnessed – and survived – the sack of Baghdad by the Mongols in 1258 CE, is generally regarded as the greatest master of Arabic calligraphy of all time. The beautiful illumination in red, blue and gold is of a later date, as are the black leather binding with gold tooling, the protective wrapper of green silk and the slipcase of red leather and marbled paper.

This delicately made manuscript from the Amin al-Madani collection is written on glossy paper in the calligraphic style called *Muhaqqaq* with alternating lines in black- and gold-coloured ink. It contains the suras 1 al-Fatiha (The Opener), 6 al-An'am (The Cattle), 18 al-Kahf (The Cave), 34 Saba' (Sheba) and 35 Fatir (Originator). All five suras were revealed in Mecca, but it is not a customary subdivision of the Qur'an. More likely, it is a selection of chapters which are related in terms of contents: the unmistakable signs of God which must be heeded by the believers, the Message of the Prophet and the Last Judgment, and a number of religious and historical parables for the instruction of the Muslims. [AV]

Landberg 1883, 35, no. 129; Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960–2009, XI, 263–264, s.v. Yakut al-Musta'simi (Canby); James 1992, 58–59, 112–113; Blair 2006, 257



Manuscript on paper with selected chapters from the Qur'an, signed 'Abdallah al-Sayrafi, Iran, 700 (1300 CE), left: opening pages (fols. 1b–2a), right: colophon (fol. 81a), 16.5x11.5 cm, al-Madani collection (1883).
[UBL Or. 2501]


الصارم المسلول على شاتم الرسول
صلى الله عليه وسلم
تأليف شيخنا الامام العالم الفاضل الحافظ
الزاهد العابد الورع شيخ الاسلام مفتي الفرق
ناصر السنة قامع البدع أوحد زمانه تقي الدين
ابو العباس احمد بن عبد الحليم بن عبد السلام
ابن عبد الله ابن ابي القاسم بن محمد بن تيمية الحراني
امتع الله المسلمين بحياته واعاد عليهم
من بركاته امين

اجزت للمذكور ما سأل ... كتبه احمد بن عبد الحليم

Ibn Taymiyya on the Prophet Muhammad

Taqi al-Din Ahmad ibn 'Abd al-Halim Ibn Taymiyya (Harran 1262 – Damascus 1328 CE) is one of the most controversial scholars of Sunni Islam. Against the backdrop of the Mongol invasions he was a fiercely outspoken and indomitable thinker who was at odds with the secular and religious authorities of the Mamluk Empire of Egypt and Syria, and also with philosophers, Sufis, saint worshippers and musicians at large. He was arrested many times and died in captivity after his paper, ink and pens had been taken away from him. His enemies regarded him as a troublemaker, and even after seven centuries his books are frequently banned in Muslim countries. Strictly orthodox Muslims, however, highlight the other side of his character as a learned scholar who felt a genuine concern for the integrity and strength of Islam, who clung to the faith of the Prophet and his followers, the *Salaf*, and who repudiated all doctrinal and legal innovations, which he regarded as heresy and consequently as a source of political weakness. Ibn Taymiyya was an important source of inspiration for the eighteenth-century scholar Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab (1703–1792 CE), the religious reformer from Nejd.

This manuscript from the Amin al-Madani collection contains the first major work of Ibn Taymiyya, 'The Unsheathed Sword against Whomever Vilifies the Messenger [of God]' (*al-Sarim al-maslul 'ala shatim al-rasul*). Originally written in 1294, it calls for the execution of anyone who insults the Prophet Muhammad. Although Ibn Taymiyya condemned the excessive veneration of Muhammad, he strongly felt that his reputation should be safeguarded, and suffered imprisonment for the first time in his life on account of that belief. The undated and completely unadorned manuscript was copied by a student of Ibn Taymiyya and carries an official endorsement (*ijaza*) of four lines in the hand of the master just above the circular Leiden library's stamp. This implies that the copy was finished before 1328, the year of Ibn Taymiyya's death. [AV]

Landberg 1883, 11–12, no. 35; Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960–2009, III, 951–955, s.v. Ibn Taymiyya (Laoust); Rapoport & Ahmed 2010

Manuscript of *al-Sarim al-maslul*, by Ibn Taymiyya, Syria or Egypt, between 1294 and 1328 CE, title page (fol. 1a), 25.5x17.5 cm, al-Madani collection (1883). [UBL Or. 2411]



An Autograph of Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab

Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab, known by his followers as ‘the Shaykh’, was born in al-‘Uyayna, an oasis in central Nejd, in 1703 CE. At an early age he left his birthplace in search of knowledge and spent years in the main centres of Islamic learning in the Middle East. In 1740 he returned home. Dismayed by many aspects of popular devotion, such as the cult of saints, the veneration of the person of the Prophet Muhammad, the rituals of the Sufi brotherhoods and popular magic, he condemned these practices as *bid’a* or unlawful innovation and called for a rigorous return to the sources of Islam. In al-Dir’iyya, not far from Riyadh, the present-day capital of Saudi Arabia, he sought the protection of the local emir, Muhammad ibn Sa’ud. In 1744 they concluded a pact ‘to make the kingdom of God’s word prevail’. This pact is still upheld by the descendants of both men. Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab died in 1792. Ibn Sa’ud and his sons conquered a large part of Arabia, including the Holy Places of Mecca and Medina, but in 1818–1819 they were eventually subdued by the Ottomans with the help of the governor of Egypt Muhammad ‘Ali Pasha and his sons Tosun and Ibrahim Pasha. The followers of Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab are usually called ‘Wahhabis’ by their adversaries, but they never use the term themselves. To this very day the doctrines of the Shaykh are influential in circles of strictly orthodox Muslims, and they are officially acknowledged in the modern state of Saudi Arabia.

This manuscript from the Amin al-Madani collection, partly damaged by mice or rats, contains four brief treatises (*rasa’il*) by Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab on diverse aspects of his teaching. Al-Madani’s claims of authenticity are often spurious, but in this case the manuscript is full of remarks confirming that it is indeed in the Shaykh’s own hand. One of these statements, at the end of the text on the left-hand page, is written in calligraphic flourishes which contrast strangely with the simple script of the text. [AV]

Landberg 1883, 33, no. 124; Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960–2009, III, 677–679, s.v. Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab (Laoust), XI, 39–45 (Peskes)

Manuscript with four *rasa’il* or treatises by Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab, autograph, Arabian Peninsula, 18th c., fols. 79b–80a, 22x15.5 cm, al-Madani collection (1883). [UBL Or. 2497]



A Portrait of a Meccan Religious Scholar

This photograph of a young man with Islamic prayer beads in his hand was taken by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje during his stay at the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah in the autumn of 1884. The subject gazes into the lens with perfect composure. Although he is dressed as a civilian with a fez cocked on his head, he is nevertheless generally believed to be Sayyid ʻAbdallah ibn Muhammad al-Zawawi (1850–1924), one of the foremost ulama (religious scholars) of his day. Like many other scholars in Mecca he was of foreign extraction and followed the dominant rite of the Shafiʼites, one of the four branches of Sunni Islam. At the mere age of twenty al-Zawawi was appointed teacher at the Great Mosque, but he was never a prolific author. He was on excellent terms with the *Jawah*, the Meccan community of Muslims from Southeast Asia; one of his students was the Javanese aristocrat Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat (c. 1854–c. 1914), who was later to be appointed interpreter at the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Abu Bakar introduced al-Zawawi to Snouck Hurgronje, who praised his theological learning, courteous manners and fine intellect, and became his confidant and long-term correspondent. Al-Zawawi is perhaps the highest-ranking Meccan scholar who was willing to have his portrait taken in a period when photography was often condemned as un-Islamic.

In the political vicissitudes of his day, al-Zawawi fell out with the local ruler ʻAwn al-Rafiq (see below, pp. 88-89) and in 1893 went into exile, eventually becoming mufti of Pontianak in West Kalimantan (present-day Indonesia). Only after ʻAwn al-Rafiq's death in 1908 did he return to Mecca, assuming the position of *Shaykh al-ʻUlama'* or Grand Mufti. He died in Ta'if in 1924, most likely as a victim of the Saudi conquest. The second picture shows al-Zawawi as an old man, still with the prayer beads in his hand but this time immersed in the perusal of a book, perhaps the best symbol of a lifetime of dedication to Islamic learning. [AV]

Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 184, 188, 207, 281, 288; Snouck Hurgronje 1941, 14–16; Laffan 2003, 59–61; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 89–92

Photograph of ʻAbdallah al-Zawawi, by C. Snouck Hurgronje, Jeddah, 1884, 16x11 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 A: 1]

Photograph of al-Zawawi as an old man by an unknown maker, early 1920s, 10.5x8 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 J: 18]







Headdress of the Religious Classes

Notwithstanding their bright colours and playful patterns, these two multi-coloured caps would have been hardly visible when worn by the Meccan religious classes in public. Their wearers would almost hide them from view by wrapping seven to twelve even-sized layers of thin white turban-cloth around them. Information about the wearer's class, status, nationality and even his character could be deduced from the way the winding-sheet was folded around the cap. According to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje relatively few Meccan men knew how to wrap it properly. Those who mastered the technique were urged by friends and neighbours to wind the cloth for them on Thursday-evenings according to their individual style.

The *Nederlandsche Staats-Courant* (Dutch Government Gazette) made the donation of these caps by Vice-Consul Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs to Museum Volkenkunde public. The article included detailed information about the modes of headdress worn by different members of the Meccan religious classes. In the late nineteenth century the turban-cloth of elderly ulama would be winded at a slant, with the end falling down in a long tail to the middle of their back. Younger theologians used less cloth and folded the tail neatly away into the rest of the sheet. The tail-end of the headdress of the sharif would protrude from the upper side of the turban, with a short pointed piece falling down to the side. The material used for the cap also disclosed information about the wearer's religious function in Meccan society. The top of the sharif's cap contained gold wires radiating from the central white roundel to the upper edge. Elderly ulama wore caps with silver threads, as the one here on the left above, while their younger colleagues wore headgear with copper threads. The imam's cap sported threads of white silk, clearly visible on the photograph on the left below. For his function gold and silver were deemed reprehensible.

In the 1880s the blue cap illustrated below was reserved for the corps of Aghas, eunuchs from African descent who functioned as special guardians of the Great Mosque in Mecca. They were known for winding their turban cloths remarkably high. Snouck Hurgronje recalled that an Indonesian pilgrim who had accidentally bought a worn-down blue cap on a second-hand market in Mecca became a laughing stock of passersby. [LM]

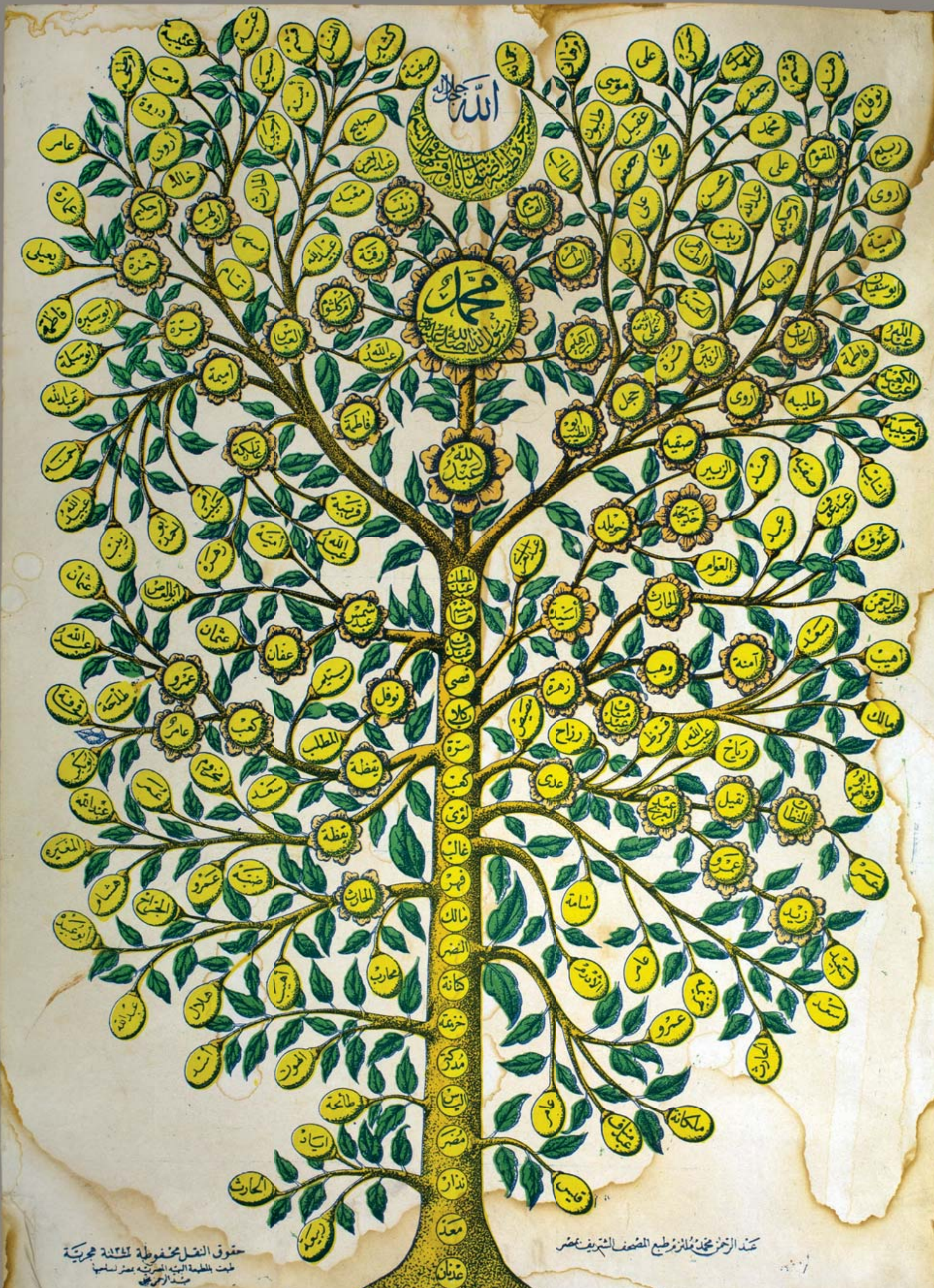
Dozy 1845, 280-291, 305–311; Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 473; Nederlandsche Staats-Courant 02–04–1887, no. 78; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 139, 224; Rutter 1930, 265; Burckhardt 1968, 184; Snouck Hurgronje 2007, 346; Mols 2013, 222–223

Cap with silver thread, straw, cotton, Mecca, before 1888, 9.3xø18.7 cm, Van der Chijs collection (1887). [RMV RV-559-3]

Cap with silk thread, straw, cotton, Mecca, before 1888, 10xø17.5 cm, Van der Chijs collection (1887). [RMV RV-559-4]

Blue cap, cotton, silk, Mecca, before 1888, 18xø19 cm, Van der Chijs collection (1887). [RMV RV-559-5]




الله جل جلاله
محمد
عبد الله
عبد المطلب
هاشم
عبد مناف
قصي
كلاب
مرة
كعب
لؤي
غالب
فهر
مالك
النضر
كنانة
خزيمة
مدركة
الياس
مضر
نزار
معد
عدنان
حقوق النقل محفوظة لطابعه
عبد الرحمن محمد ملتزم طبع المصحف الشريف بمصر

A Genealogical Tree of the Prophet Muhammad

Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah ibn 'Abd al-Muttalib (Mecca c. 570 – Medina 632 CE), of the Banu Hashim clan, is known to Muslims as the last Prophet of Islam and to the outside world as its founder. Around 610 he started receiving Divine revelations from the Archangel Gabriel and starting preaching in his home town of Mecca. His Message was later recorded in the Qur'an. Initially unsuccessful in Mecca, Muhammad and his followers emigrated in 622 to Medina, about 340km north of Mecca. In 629 he returned to Mecca victoriously and died three years later, in 632.

Muhammad's sons died young and without offspring, but his lineage has been preserved through the marriage of his daughter Fatima to his cousin 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, the fourth caliph of Islam. Their sons Hasan and Husayn are the ancestors of a long line of descendants who are still thriving today. These descendants, who bear the honorific title Sayyid or Sharif, still enjoy a certain mark of respect, and some families, such as the Sharifs of Mecca, have wielded considerable political power.

This lithographed and coloured genealogy is depicted as a tree with olive-like fruit, which, according to a caption in a crescent moon, is 'firmly rooted and with branches reaching into Heaven'. The name Muhammad stands out immediately below the crescent, and his ancestry reaches back as far as 'Adnan, the legendary ancestor of the Arabs. Daughters are mentioned but not wives. Interestingly, Muhammad's male descendants appear rather anonymously among the other branches of the family.

The genealogy was published in Cairo by 'Abd al-Rahman Muhammad at the Bahiyya al-Misriyya printing press in 1342 (1923–1924 CE), when the Sharifs of Mecca were still in power. In a society which condemned images of human beings, prints like these were framed behind glass and hung on walls for decoration. [AV]

Chromolithograph of a genealogy of the Prophet Muhammad, by 'Abd al-Rahman Muhammad, Cairo, Matba'at al-Bahiyya al-Misriyya, 1342 (1923–1924 CE), 46.5x32.5 cm, Oosters Instituut permanent loan collection (1958). [RMV RV-B106-157]

كتاب السنة

للامام احمد بن حنبل

رحمه الله تعالى رحمة واسعة

آمين

❊ عني بتصحيحه والاشراف على طبعه ❊

لجنة من المشايخ والعلماء تحت رئاسة

العلامة المحقق فضيلة الشيخ عبد الله بن حسن بن حسين آل الشيخ

❊ أمر بطبعه على نفقته وجعله وقفاً لله تعالى ❊

جلالة الملك عبد العزيز آل سعود

ملك الحجاز ونجد وملحقاتها

ادام الله نصره وتاييده

الجزء الاول

المطبعة السلفية - ومكتبتها

لأصحابهما : عبد الفتاح قتلان ومحمد صالح نصيف وشركائهما

بمكة المكرمة « الحجاز »

١٣٤٩

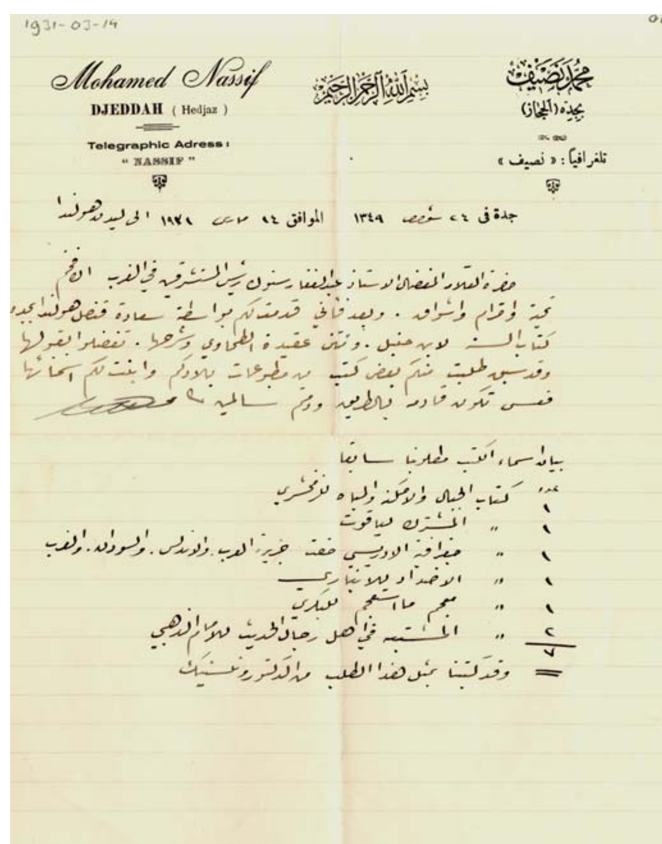
An Old Book for a New Regime

The early Muslim scholar Ahmad ibn Hanbal (780–855 CE) gave his name to the Hanbali rite in Sunni Islam. He is best known for his uncompromising stance in the literal interpretation of the Qur'an – the uncreated word of God – and his rejection of speculative reasoning in the exegesis of the Holy Book. He is also famous for his adherence to the Sunna, the Way of the Prophet and his early followers. The Saudi state has always followed the Hanbali rite and immediately after the conquest of the Hejaz – a Shafi'ite stronghold – they imposed the new religious practice. In 1925 King 'Abd al-'Aziz appointed 'Abdallah ibn Hasan Al al-Shaykh (1870–1959), one of his most trusted advisors, to the key position of imam and preacher of the Great Mosque of Mecca. In 1927 he became supreme judge of the Hejaz, charged with the surveillance of all mosques including the two Great Mosques of Mecca and Medina, the appointment of mosque functionaries and the control of public morality. The name Al al-Shaykh is significant, for it refers to the descendants of the Shaykh Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab, the eighteenth-century religious reformer from Nejd. The Saudi dynasty has always honoured the pact concluded with the Shaykh in 1744 and the Al al-Shaykh family still remains prominent in religious life, even though they prefer to stay in the background.

In order to make the Hejaz familiar with the new Hanbali doctrine, King 'Abd al-'Aziz financed the publication of several religious works, such as the *Kitab al-Sunna*, a compact Islamic creed of Ibn Hanbal, which came out in Mecca in 1349 (1930 CE). The text was edited by a committee chaired by the above-mentioned 'Abdallah ibn Hasan Al al-Shaykh. Characteristically, the largest calligraphic print on the title page is reserved for name of the king, whereas the smallest type is used for the editor-in-chief. Muhammad Husayn Nasif (1885–1971), a rich merchant and intellectual from Jeddah and a relative of the publisher, sent this copy as a courtesy to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in Leiden (see also below, p. 119). [AV]

Ibn Hanbal 1930; Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960–2009, I, 272–277, s.v. Ahmad b. Hanbal (Laoust); Al al-Shaykh 1972, 121–131; Steinberg 2002, 245–248, 512–528; Ibn Humayd 2012, III, 1177–1186; Freitag forthc.

Printed edition of *Kitab al-Sunna,* by Ahmad Ibn Hanbal, ed. 'Abdallah ibn Hasan Al al-Shaykh et al., Mecca, al-Matba'a al-Salafiyya wa-Maktabatuha, 1349 (1930 CE), title page, 24.5x15.5 cm. [UBL 832 B 4]


1931-03-14
Mohamed Nassif
DJEDDAH (Hedjaz)
Telegraphic Adress:
" NASSIF "
محمد نصيف
جدة (الحجاز)
تلغرافيا: « نصيف »
جدة في ٢٤ شوال ١٣٤٩ الموافق ١٤ مارس ١٩٣١

Letter from Muhammad Husayn Nasif to C. Snouck Hurgronje on the dispatch of *Kitab al-Sunna* to Leiden, Jeddah, 24 Shawwal 1349 (14 March 1931 CE), 27x21 cm. [UBL Or. 8952 A: 744]



2

The Geography of the Holy Places

The central place of Mecca and Medina in Islam found its natural expression in geography and topography, if only because the determination of the *qibla* or prayer direction towards Mecca has always been a primary concern of Islamic religious practice. Departing from the tradition of antiquity, later Islamic world maps depicted Mecca and the Ka'ba as the pivot of the world. Innumerable manuscripts show colourful and delicate miniatures of the Holy Cities, mainly in itineraries destined for travellers and pilgrims, but also in a devotional work such as *Dala'il al-khayrat* (Signs of Benefactions) by the fifteenth-century Moroccan mystic al-Jazuli.

Ancient miniatures of the Holy Cities and their shrines, though a delight to the eye, are often only schematic and do not necessarily aim at absolute topographical correctness. The nineteenth century witnessed a sudden change, however, with the introduction of lithography and subsequently photography. Especially photography allowed the spectator to record a scene at close range, thus creating a realistic-looking picture of great intimacy. Since 1880, many photographers – professional and amateur, Muslim and non-Muslim – have come to Western Arabia. In most cases the abodes pictured have since turned to dust under the pressure of economic prosperity, shifting religious allegiances and the ever-increasing influx of pilgrims, who now come in the millions instead of thousands. In Mecca the Ka'ba still stands in all its glory, and likewise the green dome of the Prophet's mausoleum in Medina, but much is irretrievably lost. Fortunately, in Jeddah serious efforts are now being undertaken to preserve the city's architectural treasures.


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ACAD.
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BIBL.

An Ancient Map of the World

In the Middle Ages Muslim scientists used the Greek legacy of late antiquity as a starting point for their own original research. In Islamic geography the main source of inspiration was the Hellenistic geographer and astronomer Claudius Ptolemy, who lived in Egypt in the second century CE. In the Ptolemaic projection south is topmost, so the modern reader has to turn a map upside down in order to make sense of it. In this circular map there is a detailed depiction of the world as it was known to medieval Muslims, and hence the Muslim world figures disproportionately large. Egypt and the Nile are clearly visible in the western half of the map, but, curiously enough, Egypt is bordered to the west by a large sea. East of Egypt the Arabian Peninsula appears prominently with the legend '*al-'Arab*' (the Arabs). It is bordered by the Red Sea and the Arab Gulf. A thin red line passes through the eastern part of the Peninsula: this is the prime meridian which divides the western and eastern hemispheres. The southern coastline of Iran and beyond as far as the Indus is shown as a straight line. The confines of Asia and Africa almost meet in the far east. Europe is in the periphery in the northwestern quadrant of the circle and the Americas do not figure at all.

The map appears in a little miscellany in the Amin al-Madani collection, which is copied in one hand throughout. One of the other texts is dated 28 Rabi' al-Awwal 646 (28 July 1248 CE). Quite recently it was possible to establish with the collaboration of the American scholar Dr Karen Pinto that this map is part of *al-Risala al-Mu'iniyya*, a Persian treatise by Nasir al-Din Tusi (1201–1274 CE), one of the greatest astronomers of the Muslim world. Dating from Tusi's lifetime, it is quite possibly the oldest extant fragment of the text, which makes it an exceptionally precious item. [AV]

Landberg 1883, 45, no. 170; Kamal & Wieder 1926–1951, III/5, no. 996; Storey & De Blois 1927–...., II/1, 52, 56; Tusi 1956, 63

Manuscript of a fragment of *al-Risala al-Mu'iniyya*, by Nasir al-Din Tusi, datable to 646 (1248 CE), Ptolemaic world map (p. 37), 20x15.5 cm, al-Madani collection (1883). [UBL Or. 2541]


دائل نام جزیره ده منتهی اولور اقالیم بو صورتده تحریر و تصویر اولندی ربع مسکونک بو صورتی بولور
مسعودی رحمه الله علیه مروج ده جغرافیادن نقل ایدر که عهد بطلمیوسده
مدن دنیا درت بیک بشیوز اوتوز اوچ عدد ایدی و عدد جبال
دخی ایکیوزدن زاید و کرهٔ ارضی محیط اولان بحار بش و جمله انهردن
نابع اولان عیون کبار ایکیوز اوتوز و اقالیم سبعه ده علی الدوام
جاریه
مطلب
عدد مدن دنیا
جمعا
٤٥٣٣
مطلب
عدد جبال دنیا
جمعا
٢٠٠
مطلب
عیون کبیره دنیا
جمعا
٢٣٠

Mecca and the Ka'ba at the Centre of the World

This circular map of the world is based on the same Ptolemaic projection as the one on the previous pages. It appears in an Ottoman Turkish manuscript from 1060 (1650 CE). At the centre the Ka'ba can easily be distinguished, as well as the Mataf, the area used for the circumambulation of the shrine. A little below the Ka'ba (to the north in this projection) there is an arrow-like shape inside a red square; this could very well be an image of the Maqam Ibrahim, a monument inside the mosque precinct indicating the place where Abraham once stood, or a picture of the tomb of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina.

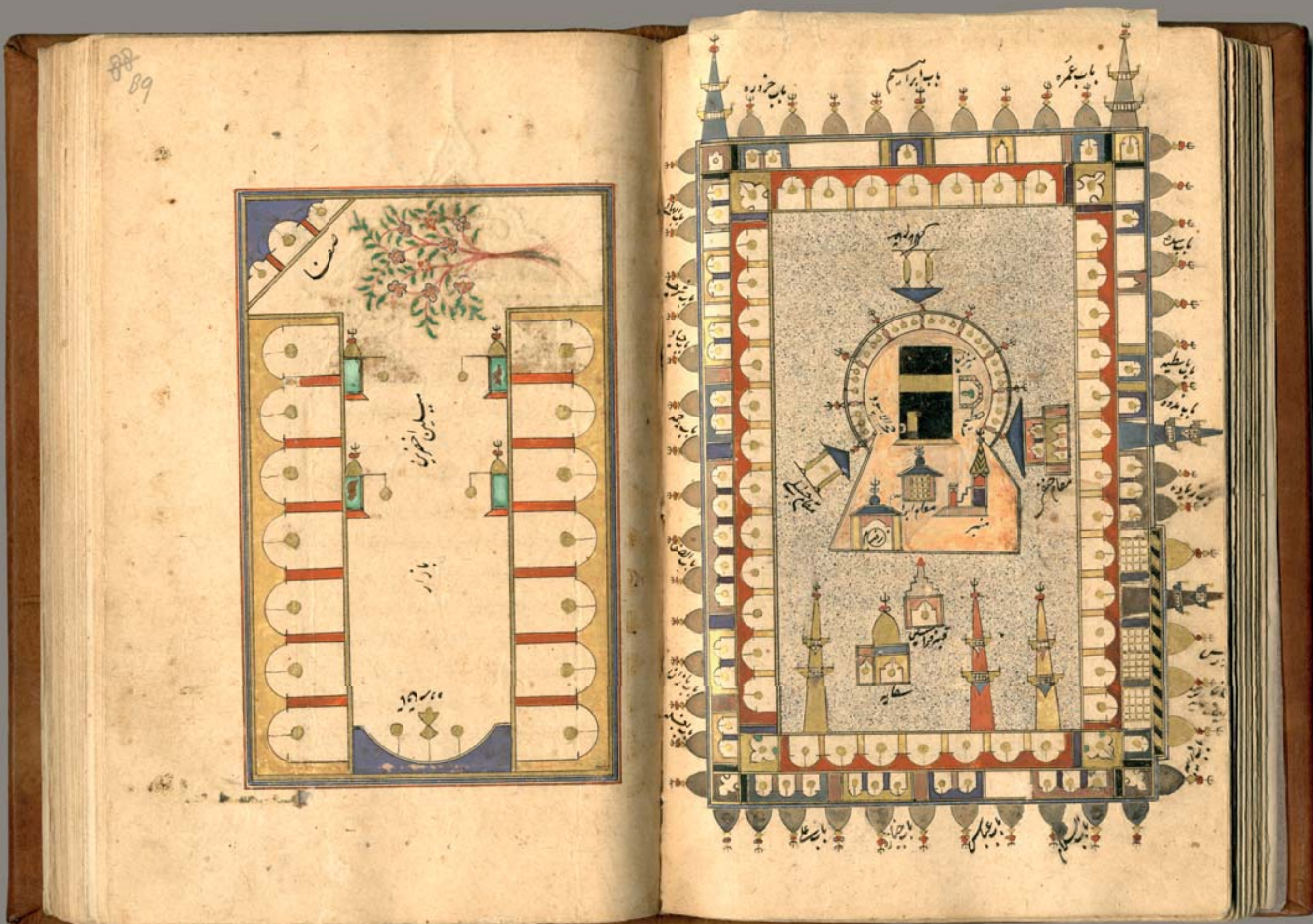
Between 2012 and 2014 this map could be admired in three exhibitions on the Hajj in London, Leiden and Paris as a symbol of the Ka'ba as the pivot of the world. It is often thought that in Islamic geography Mecca is always at the centre, but this is open to discussion. The oldest maps never have Mecca in the middle, as they follow the Ptolemaic model. Only in later manuscripts does Mecca shift towards the centre, occasionally together with an image of the Ka'ba.

Contrary to popular belief, Muslim geographers have never thought that the world is a flat disc, nor is this map a typical example of Islamic geography in the seventeenth century. The map features in an anonymous Ottoman Turkish (natural) history of South America, *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*, which also contains a number of modern maps in Mercator's projection. The illustrator chose an 'old-fashioned' map to visualise the idea of classical Islamic geography for the benefit of a modern public. Nevertheless, the map remains a powerful symbol of the spiritual importance of the Ka'ba. [AV]

Schmidt 2000–2012, III, 115–121; Witkam 2002, 226–228; Porter 2012, 64; Mols 2013, 36–37, no. 8; Bouffard 2014, 50–51; Vrolijk 2015, 214–221



Manuscript of *Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi*, 1060 (1650 CE), with left a Ptolemaic world map (fol. 60b) and right a modern map of the Eastern Hemisphere (fol. 116a), 23.5x13.5 cm, Taeschner collection (1970). [UBL Or. 12.365]



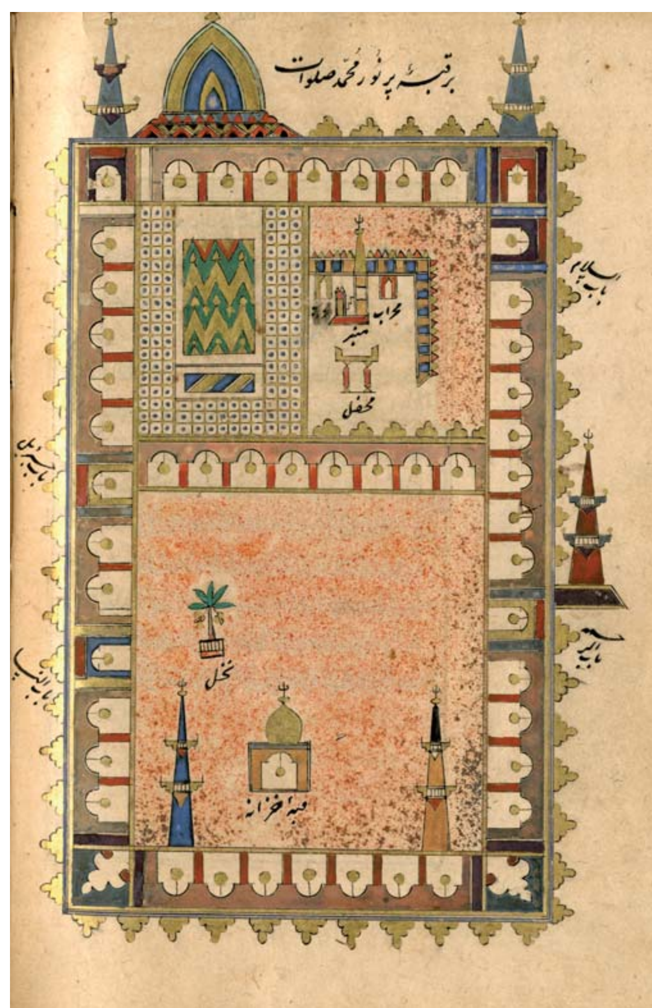
A Close-Up of the Great Mosque in Mecca

This late sixteenth-century Arabic miscellany is dedicated to the Holy Places of Islam. It contains an abridged version of a history of Mecca and Medina by ʻAbd al-Karim ibn Muhibb al-Din al-Nahrawali (d. 1606 CE), who was a mufti in Mecca of the Hanafi rite, one of the main currents of Sunni Islam. Secondly, there is a copy of a deed of endowment from 1540 by the Ottoman sultan Süleyman the Magnificent, who allotted the revenues of estates in Egypt to defray the expenses of the textile hangings of the Ka'ba (the *Kiswa*) and those of the Prophet's tomb in Medina. The third text contains an account of a fire which damaged the Prophet's grave by ʻAli ibn ʻAbdallah al-Samhudi, who died in Medina in 1506. All three texts were copied in 1597, probably in Turkey.

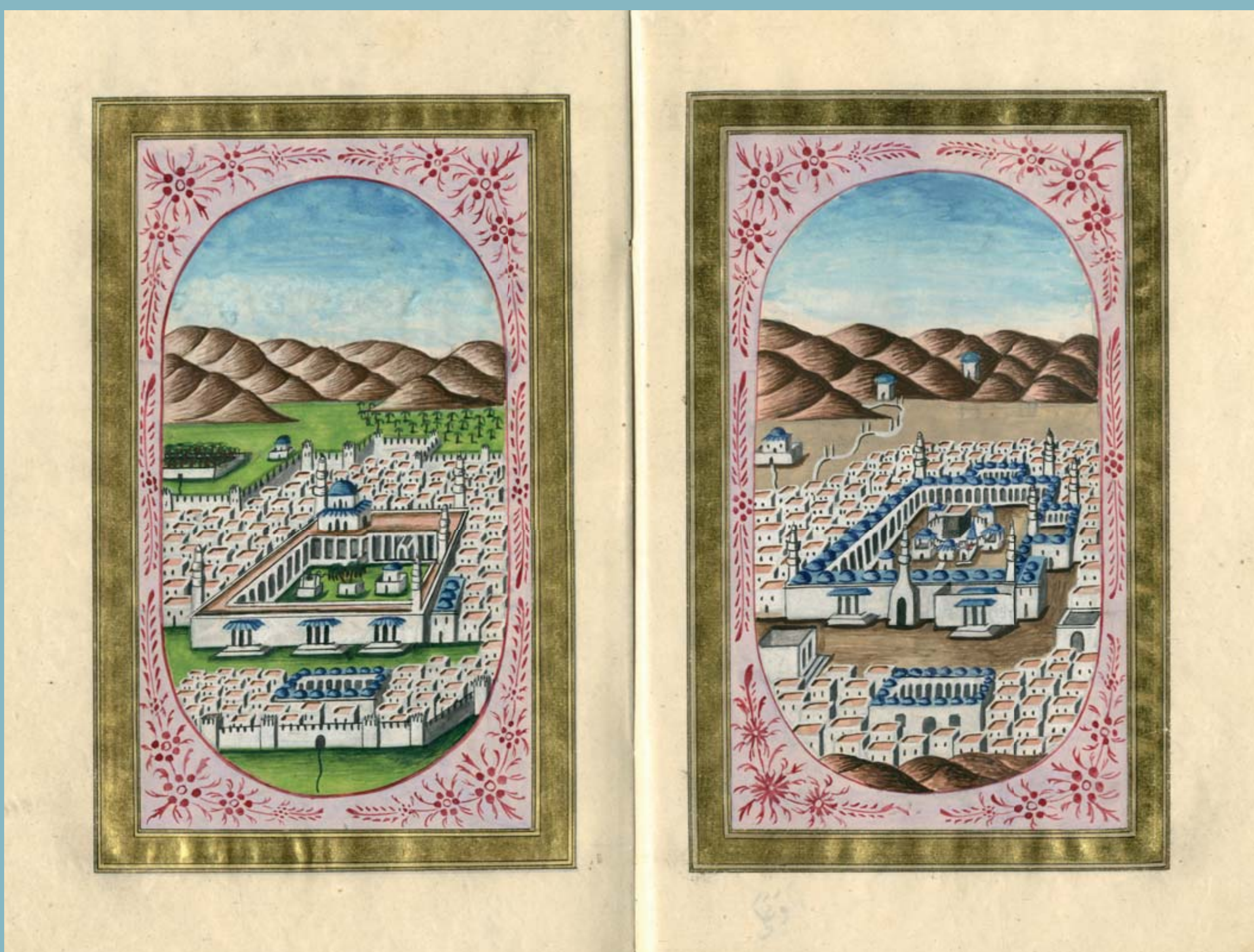
On the left, an illustrator has drawn a beautiful miniature of the Great Mosque and the Ka'ba as seen from the northeast with a detailed legend. The position of the Ka'ba with all its trappings, the other buildings in the courtyard, the seven minarets and the gates is basically correct.

On the far left is a schematic drawing of the Mas'a, the distance between the hillocks of Safa and Marwa, which has to be covered seven times by the pilgrims. The projection in this miniature is south up, with Safa in the upper left corner and Marwa at the base. In the miniature one can clearly see the green signposts (*al-milayn al-akhdarayn*), where male pilgrims must accelerate their pace. The street, named Bazar (The Market), is lined with arcades on either side, with a lamp under each arch. The flowering tree is purely decorative. In the same manuscript there is a newly discovered third illustration with a detailed image of the Great Mosque of Medina and the Prophet's grave under a blue and gold dome (below). [AV]

Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960–2009, IX, 97, s.v. Sa'y (Fahd); Witkam 2002, 222–223; Mols 2013, 140–141, no. 57



Miscellany with texts related to Mecca and Medina, probably Turkey, 1005–1006 (1597 CE), left: two miniatures of Mecca (fols. 88b–89a), right: a miniature of Medina (fol. 113b), 20.5x13.5 cm, Warner collection (1665). [UBL Or. 832]



The Holy Cities in a Book of Popular Devotion

Dala'il al-khayrat or 'Signs of Benefactions' is a devotional work dedicated to the Prophet Muhammad by the Moroccan mystic Muhammad ibn Sulayman al-Jazuli, a leader of the Shadhiliyya Sufi order who died around 1465 CE. The work has always been hugely popular in many parts of the Muslim world, especially in Sufi brotherhood circles, who still recite it during their spiritual séances. Strictly orthodox Muslims tend to reject it because of its veneration of the Prophet and its Sufi inclinations. Many manuscripts and printed editions of this text feature a double illustration of the Holy Places of Islam.

This Ottoman manuscript, obviously a luxury item, contains two bird's-eye views of Mecca and Medina. The illustration of the Great Mosque of Mecca (left) looks towards the southwest from Mount Qubays, a popular vantage point for visitors. The Ka'ba is almost at the centre, surrounded by its ancillary buildings. The open space in the foreground is the Mas'a, the course between Safa and Marwa. In the far left corner is the road to either Jeddah or the plain of 'Arafat (the latter considerably out of place).

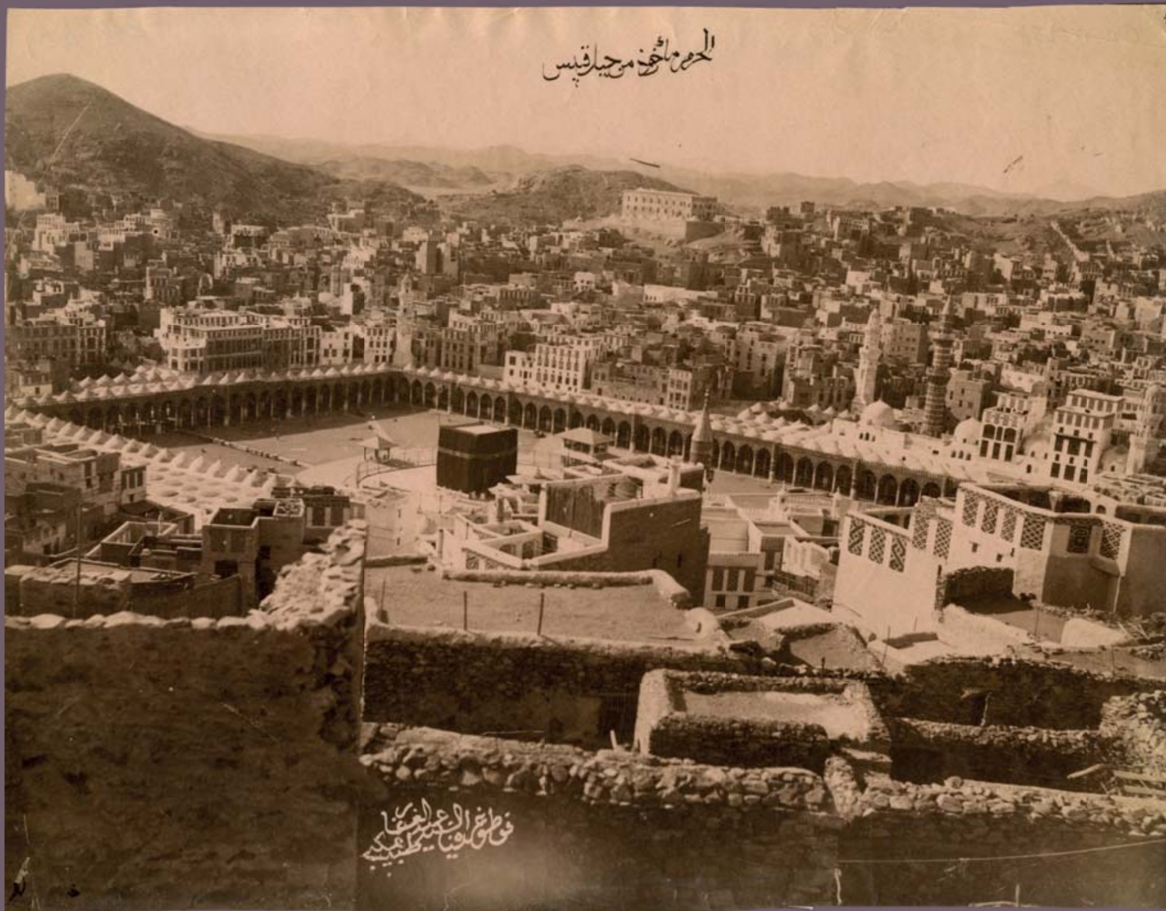
The Great Mosque of Medina (far left) is seen from the north. The dome of the Prophet's mausoleum is in the corner of the mosque. The enclosed quadrangle to the left of the city wall could be the cemetery of Jannat al-Baqi'a or Baqi' al-Gharqad. In the distance are palm groves – for which Medina is famous – and mountains. The perspective view, the use of gold and pastel colours and the overall style of illumination betray a strong European influence. The manuscript is exquisitely bound in decorated brown leather with a doublure of blue moiré silk.

In the colophon the work is dated 1253 (1837 CE) and signed by the Turkish calligrapher Süleyman Vehbi of Bursa, a pupil of İbrahim Şevki. There is evidence to suggest that both the calligrapher and his master were active in Shumen, present-day Bulgaria, which was an important Ottoman centre of Qur'an production in the mid-nineteenth century. [AV]

Ünver 1983, 32–33; Schmidt 2000–2012, II, 26–28; Stanley 2000; Witkam 2002, 85, 152



Manuscript of *Dala'il al-khayrat*, by al-Jazuli, probably from Shumen (Bulgaria), dated 1253 (1837 CE), left: miniatures of Mecca and Medina (fols. 15b-16a), right: opening page (fol. 3b), 19.5x12.5 cm, Taeschner collection (1970). [UBL Or. 12.455]


الحرم مأخوذ من جبل قبيس



In the late 1880s Mecca was a modestly sized town of about 50–60 thousand inhabitants, pilgrims not included. The picture above, taken from Mount Qubays, shows the valley of Mecca surrounded by bare hills or mountains, which give the city a bowl-like shape. The Great Mosque, here largely deserted in the afternoon, is at the bottom of the valley, and during periods of heavy rainfall the courtyard was frequently flooded. The photograph looks west, and on the other side the Ottoman fortress of Jabal Hindi can be seen. The large mansions in the vicinity of the mosque are plastered or whitewashed, whereas the less prestigious houses remain unpainted. The picture bears the signature of Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, the Meccan doctor who helped Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje take photographs and who took over from Snouck Hurgronje after his expulsion from Mecca in August 1885. This picture is part of a set which ‘Abd al-Ghaffar sent to Snouck Hurgronje in the first months of 1889; a slightly different exposure was published in *Bilder aus Mekka* (1889).

The second photograph (below) was taken some thirty years later. Because of the advanced technology it is much clearer and better focused. The city looks wealthier and in better repair than in the 1880s. Daniël van der Meulen (1894–1989), the Dutch chargé d’affaires in Jeddah, sent this picture to Snouck Hurgronje in 1926. It was in all probability taken by the Turkish photographer Mahmud Hamdi ‘Arabgirli. Originally from Arapgir in Central Anatolia, he settled in Mecca and found employment at the Government Printing Office. As a sideline he sold his own calligraphic specimens and photographs from a little shop at Bab al-Salam, one of the gates of the Great Mosque. He died in 1924 or 1925 and was succeeded by his son Shafiq. The reverse side of the picture bears the Ottoman Turkish caption *Mekke’nin manzara-ı umumesi, Ciyad kalesi’nden* (General view of Mecca from the Jiyad Fortress) and a similar caption in Dutch. [AV]

Snouck Hurgronje 1889, plate 3; Ba Salama 1935, 6; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, front cover, 26–34; Witkam 2007, 173; Mirza 2011, [92], 137–141; Mols 2013, 40–41, no. 10

Photograph of Mecca, signed ‘Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar the doctor’, late 1888 or early 1889, 20x26 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 J: 39]

Photograph of Mecca from the Jiyad (Ajyad) Fortress, probably by Mahmud Hamdi ‘Arabgirli, early 1920s, 17x23 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 C: 9]


M. M. L.
الوقوف بمكة المكرمة
Déposé 1292
1972.N.13



The Great Mosque of Mecca during Prayer Time

A gaily coloured photolithograph in the collection of Museum Volkenkunde, Leiden, shows the Great Mosque of Mecca during prayer time. Judging from the length of the shadows it was taken at midday, probably on a Friday, a time when the whole congregation meets for communal prayer and a sermon. The white ceremonial covering (*ihram*) of the Ka'ba is clearly visible. The small, roofed buildings in the courtyard are the sheltered standing places (*maqam*) of the four prayer leaders of the main rites of Sunni Islam. The Muslims of the Shafi'i rite, on the far side, are the most numerous, followed by those of the Hanafi rite on the left. Everybody is facing the Ka'ba. The two-storey large building to the right of the Ka'ba is the entrance to the well of Zamzam. The photographer was probably standing on the roof of the mosque near Bab al-Wida' (Farewell Gate), looking northeast. The lithograph must date from before 1916, the year of the Arab Revolt, for a large house just beyond the mosque precinct still sports an Ottoman flag. The lithograph was most probably published in Egypt.

Interestingly, a print of the original black-and-white photograph used to make the coloured lithograph is preserved in the Leiden University collections. In the relatively empty foreground there is a signature: 'Photograph by al-Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar, the doctor from Mecca'. The picture dates from the years 1885–1888, and it was never published by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. In the coloured lithograph the foreground has been cropped away, possibly to create a better balance. There is no trace of an Ottoman flag in the original photograph.

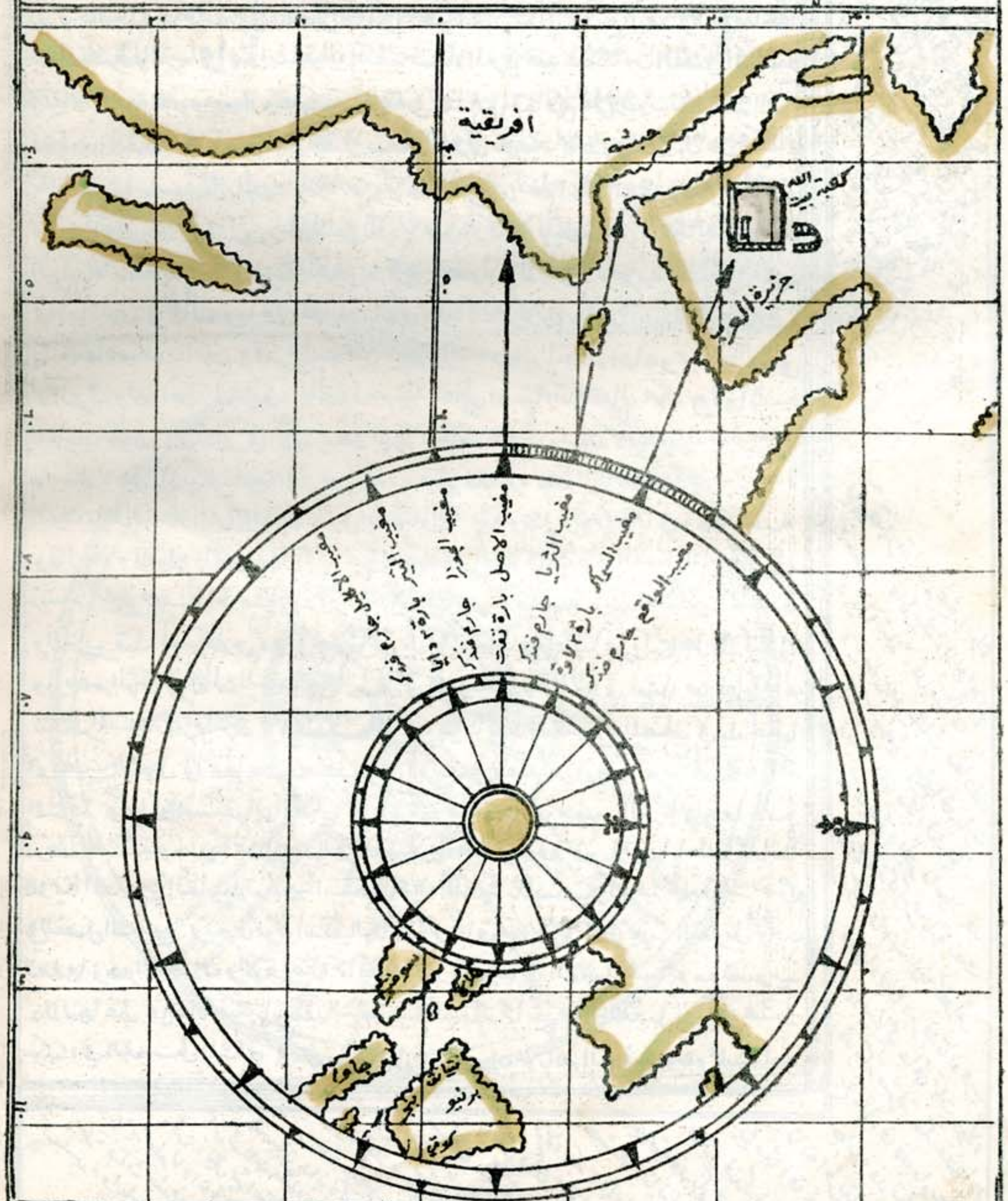
Although nineteenth-century photographs of the Great Mosque are not an absolute rarity, they are nevertheless an invaluable source of historical information, since all the buildings in the picture, with the exception of the Ka'ba, have by now disappeared to create more space for the ever-growing crowds of pilgrims. [AV]

Mols 2013, 136–137, no. 55

Coloured photolithograph of the Great Mosque during prayer time, signed 'M.M.L., Déposé 12192', Cairo?, before 1916, 30x38 cm, Van Buitendijk collection (1919). [RMV RV-1972-13]

Photograph of the Great Mosque, signed Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar the doctor, c. 1885–1888, 20.5x27.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 J: 41]

وهہنا اعادة تلك الصورة بعينها مع صورة كون استقبال مغيب الثريا الذي بعدُه عن مغيب السماك الى اليسار باحداعشر درجة وربع درجة واقعا على بلاد الحبشة وكون استقبال مغيب الاصل الذي بعدُه عن مغيب السماك الى اليسار باثنتين وعشرين درجة ونصف درجة واقعا على وسط ارض افريقية وكل ذلك يعرف من طريق الطول والعرض كما تقدم لانها اقوى الادلة التي يجب التعويل عليها وهذه هي الصورة



Determining the Location of Mecca

The Ka'ba is the focal point of Islam, and all Muslims must turn towards it in their ritual prayers. According to Islamic belief, this cube-like structure, completely inconspicuous in terms of architecture, was built by Adam and reconstructed by Abraham and Ishmael. It was given its central place in Islamic practice by the Prophet Muhammad himself. Its meaning is purely symbolic: Muslims do not worship the Ka'ba, but God; the Ka'ba is called the 'House of God' and the Meccans 'God's neighbours', but Muslims do not believe that God has chosen the Ka'ba as His fixed abode. Nevertheless, the prayer direction (*qibla*) is regarded as essential.

To help the believers, mosques are built in the direction of Mecca, and inside every mosque there is a prayer niche (*mihrab*) indicating the correct position. The farther one is removed from the Ka'ba, the more difficult it is to determine the exact geographical location, and astronomy and trigonometry are used to solve the problem. That this was not always done satisfactorily in remote areas is shown by this lithographed booklet, published in Batavia (present-day Jakarta, Indonesia) in 1902. The author, Sayyid 'Uthman of Batavia, tried to prove that mosques in Java and Sumatra were not directed towards Mecca. The rhyming title of this little work in Arabic and Malay is *Tahrir aqwa al-adilla fi tahsil 'ayn al-qibla*, or 'The Recording of the Strongest Proofs on the Exact Determination of the Qibla'. A full-page map shows a compass card along with the Indonesian Archipelago. Two arrows point at incorrect geographical positions in Ethiopia and the Horn of Africa, but a third one is directed correctly towards the Arabian Peninsula and the Ka'ba itself.

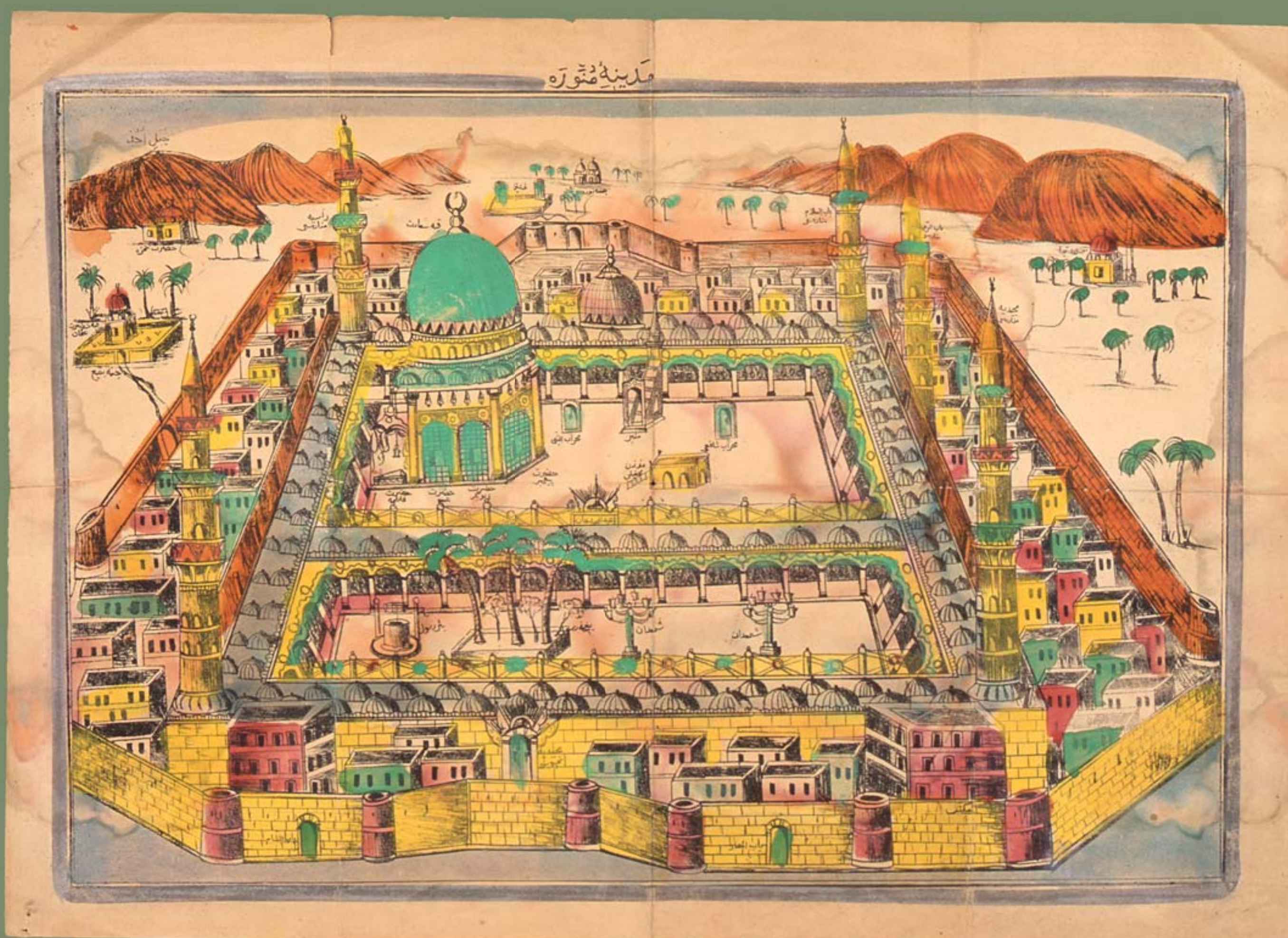
Sayyid 'Uthman b. 'Abdallah b. 'Aqil al-'Alawi (1822–1914) was a widely respected Islamic scholar from Batavia, whose family originated from Hadramaut (Yemen). In his early years he studied in Mecca with the Grand Mufti Ahmad ibn Zayni Dahlan (1817–1886, see also below, p. 87). He was in close touch with Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who worked as an advisor to the colonial administration of the Netherlands East Indies. Shortly before his death he received a Dutch Royal decoration for services rendered. [AV]

Kaptein 2014

Lithographic edition of *Tahrir aqwa al-adilla fi tahsil 'ayn al-qibla*, by Sayyid 'Uthman, Batavia, 1320 (1902 CE), map with a compass rose (p. 20), 34x21.5 cm. [UBL 900 A 34]



Photograph of Sayyid 'Uthman wearing a Dutch Royal decoration, maker unknown, Batavia, 1914, 17.5x12 cm, KITLV collection (formerly Islam Stichting). [UBL KITLV 99165]


مدینهٔ منوره

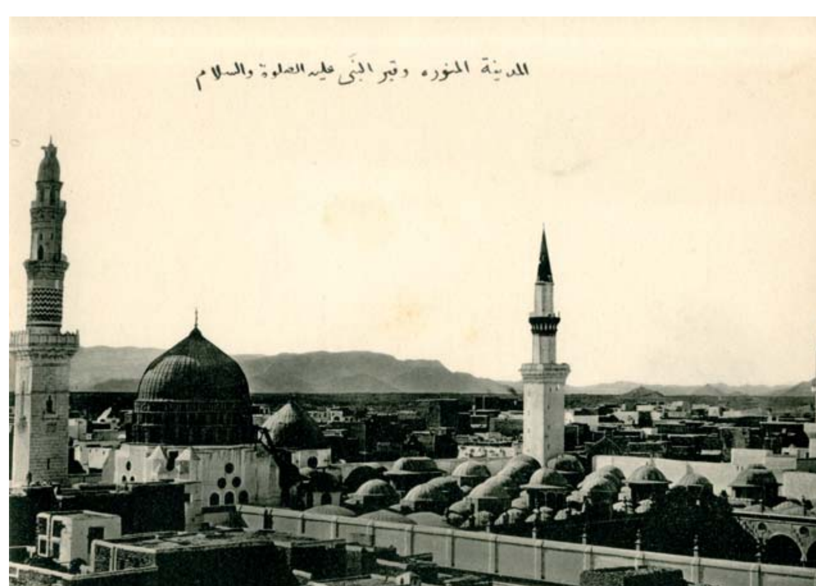
The Prophet's Mosque in Medina

The Great Mosque or Prophet's Mosque of Medina (al-Masjid al-Nabawi or al-Haram al-Nabawi) is the burial place of the Prophet Muhammad, who is traditionally believed to have died on the twelfth day of the month Rabi' al-Awwal in the year 11 of the Islamic calendar (8 June 632 CE). His grave is located in a special enclosure called al-Rawda al-Sharifa (The Noble Garden), which also contains the mortal remains of Muhammad's first two successors, the caliphs Abu Bakr and 'Umar. This enclosure is crowned with a dome. It is the second holiest place in Islam after the Great Mosque of Mecca, and many pilgrims who perform the Hajj also travel onwards to Medina to pay their respects to the Prophet. The mosque has been repaired and enlarged time and again to accommodate an ever-growing Muslim community.

The Prophet's Mosque suffered heavily during the war between the Ottoman Empire and the first Saudi State in 1811–1818. This hand-coloured lithograph (left), drawn from a northern perspective, shows the Prophet's Mosque as it appeared after extensive reconstruction and conservation works carried out in the 1830s on the orders of the Ottoman sultans Mahmud II and Abdülmecid I, the custodians of the Two Holy Mosques of Mecca and Medina. The gates leading to the outer and inner courtyards have plaques commemorating the latter sultan's name. It was during these repairs that the dome was first painted green, a colour for which it has remained famous ever since. The lithograph follows the model of earlier depictions of Medina such as those in manuscripts of al-Jazuli's *Dala'il al-khayrat* (The Signs of Benefactions; see above, pp. 42-43). The captions are in Ottoman Turkish, and it is safe to assume that it was printed in Turkey in the second half of the nineteenth century.

The more recent photographic print below shows the mosque from the eastern side, and there appears to have been little change as compared with the lithographed image. In 1913 this print was sent to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje by Jacob Wolff (1872–1942), the Dutch consul in Jeddah in 1911–1916, but it had originally been published as early as 1907 by H.A. Mirza & Sons of Delhi, India, who were responsible for several attractive pictures of the Holy Places. [AV]

Asani & Gavin 1998, 196–197; Witkam 2002, 63–70; Mirza 2011, 107; Mols 2013, 184–185, no. 77



Hand-coloured lithograph with a panorama of the Prophet's Mosque in Medina, Turkey, 2nd half 19th c., 40.5x56 cm, De Vicq collection (1886). [RMV RV-543-10]

Photographic print of the same mosque, originally by H.A. Mirza & Sons, Delhi, 1907, 15x20.5 cm, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.365: 22]



Medina's Historic Cemetery

The cemetery of Baqi' al-Gharqad (Thornbush Field), also known as Jannat al-Baqi'a (The Garden of the Field), is the oldest surviving burial place in Medina. It contains the remains of many relatives and followers of the Prophet Muhammad. This miniature is from *Futuh al-Haramayn* (The Opening of the Two Holy Mosques), a work composed by the Persian author Muhyi al-Din Lari from Lar, Iran, who died in 933 (1526–1527 CE). This manuscript copy is dated 1 Muharram 1012 (11 June 1603 CE). The work describes Mecca and Medina and the rituals of the Islamic pilgrimage, and it is enhanced by many evocative illustrations. The work doubtless originated in a Shi'ite context. At the end of the book there is, for instance, a captionless miniature which could very well represent the shrine of Imam Rida or Reza, the eighth imam of the Shi'a, and the adjacent Goharshad mosque in Mashhad, Iran (fol. 40a).

The same Shi'ite perspective would explain why so much care has been lavished on a strongly schematic miniature of the Baqi' al-Gharqad cemetery: in the upper left corner the tombs and names appear of Muhammad's daughter Fatima, his son-in-law 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, his grandson Hasan – his other grandson Husayn is buried in Karbala, Iraq – and other imams of the Shi'a.

A photograph with an Ottoman Turkish legend by an unidentified maker shows a much more realistic picture of the same cemetery. It was sent to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje by Daniël van der Meulen, the Dutch chargé d'affaires in Jeddah in 1926–1931, but it must be several decades older than that. It shows the scattered mausoleums and tombstones, a city gate and the Prophet's Mosque in the background. The structures were destroyed in the early nineteenth century by the first Saudi State as places of superstitious worship, and a second time in 1926. Today, only rubble remains, but the graves themselves have been left untouched. [AV]

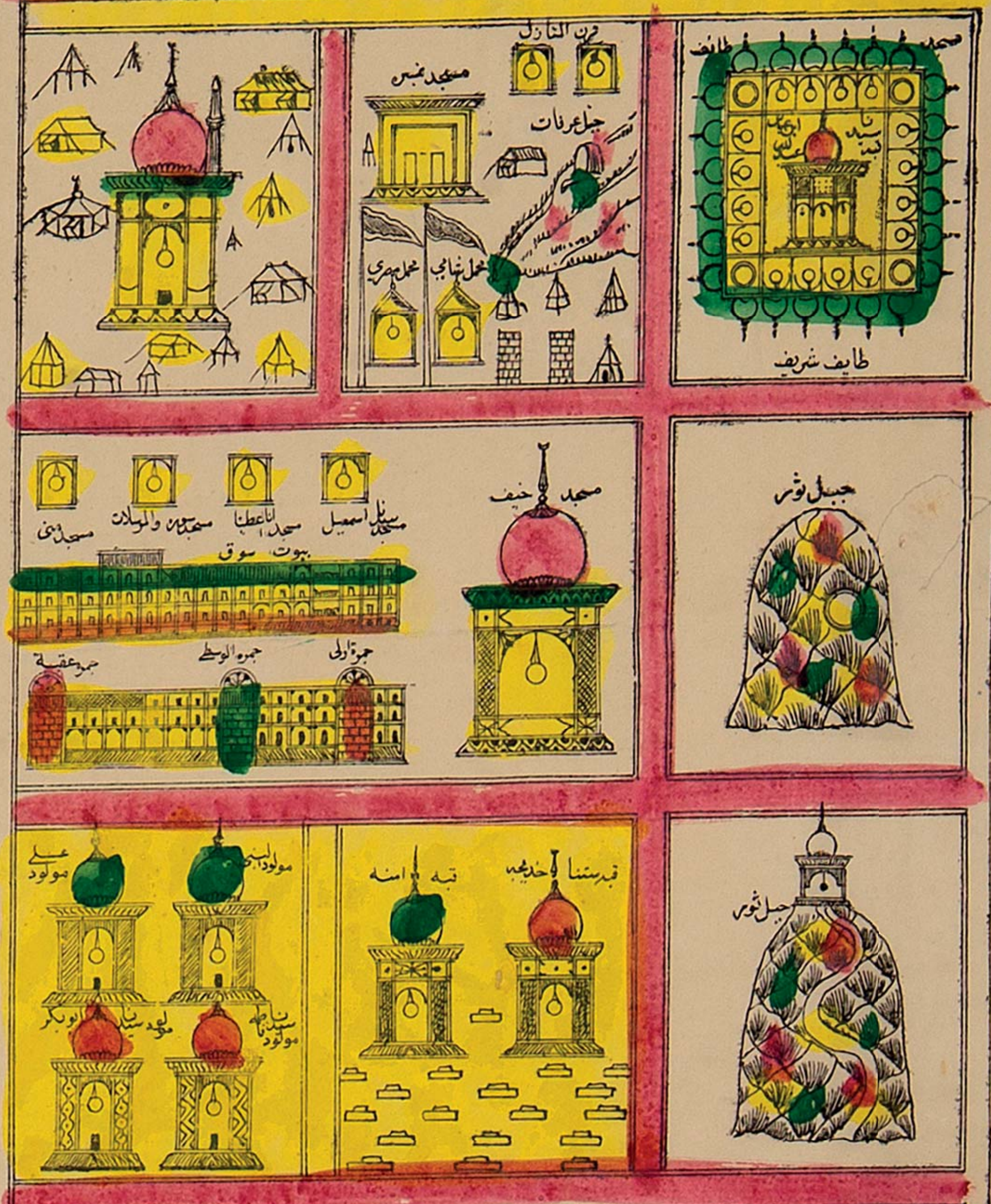
Witkam 2002, 90; Steinberg 2002, 535–542

Manuscript of *Futuh al-Haramayn*, by Muhyi al-Din Lari, 1012 (1603 CE), miniature of Baqi' al-Gharqad (fol. 36b), 29.5x20.5 cm, acquired 1966. [UBL Or. 11.079]

Photograph of Baqi' al-Gharqad with caption in Ottoman Turkish, maker unknown, Medina, late 19th century?, 16.5x22.5 cm, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.362: 29]



فاذا افضتم من عرفات فاذكروا الله عند المشعر الحرام



الحمد لله الذي حصنا بالبيت الحرام والزمزم والمقام والنبي صلى الله عليه وسلم اما بعد فقد احرم بالحج الحاج
من ميقات الشرعي عن فرض ولم يزل محرما ملبيا مصليا على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم الى ان دخل مكة
ودخل باب السلام وطاف بالقدوم وسعى الحج وصعد الى عرفات ووقف الى الغروب ونفر الى مزدلفة والقط الحصى وبات بها الى الفجر ودفع
الى منى ورمي الجمرة العقبة وحلق ونزل الى مكة طاف طواف الزيارة ورجع الى منى واقام بها ايام التشريق ورمي الجمرة الثلاثة وتم الحج وذهب
الى العمرة وكان وقوفنا يوم سنه هجريه

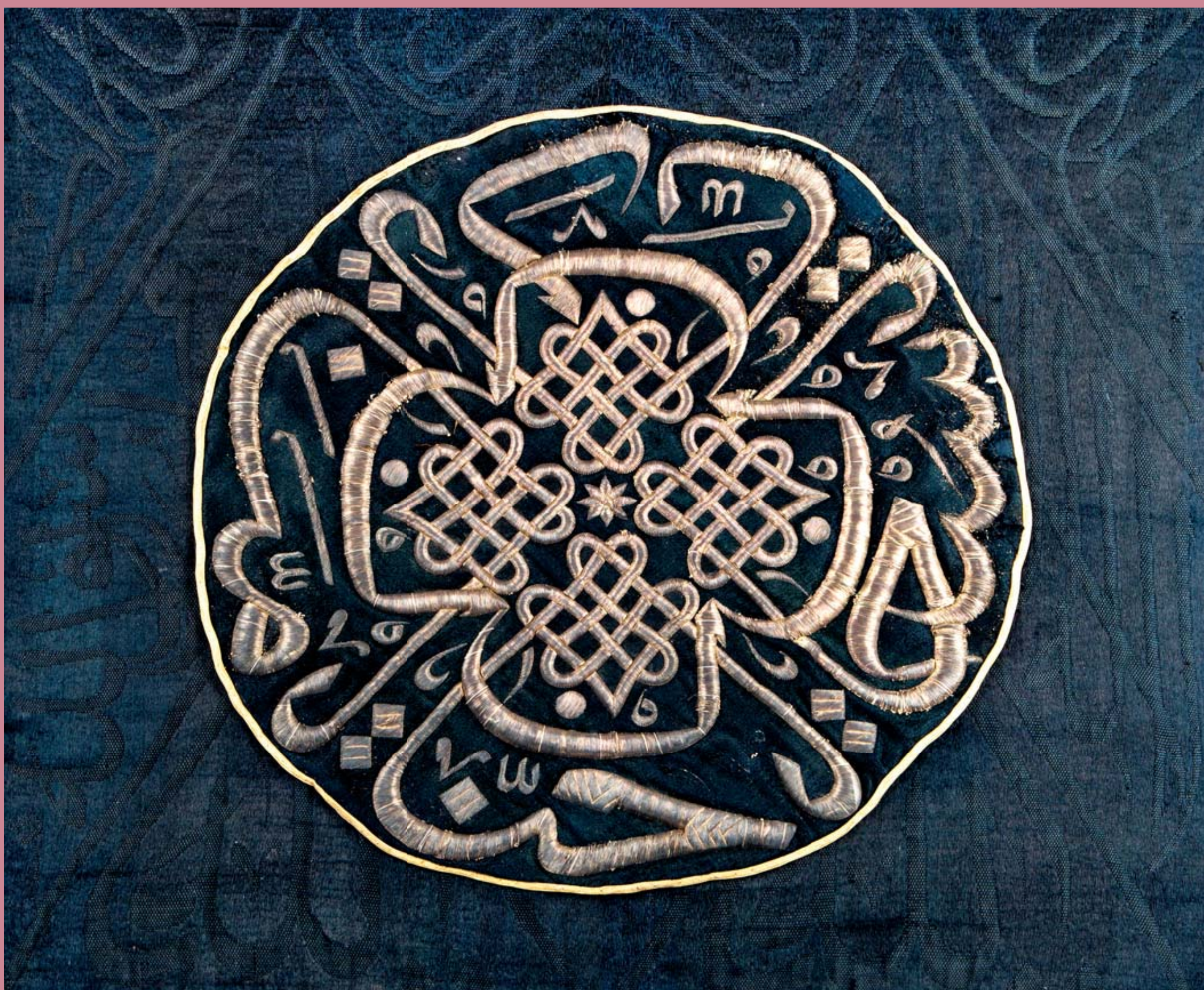
شهد بذلك شهد بذلك شهد بذلك

The Hajj to Mecca

Every Muslim who is physically and financially able is obliged to make the journey to Mecca to fulfil the rituals of pilgrimage at least once. The Hajj to Mecca is one of the five pillars of Islam, and it is the sole religious observance that can only be performed in the locations where the Islamic faith originated. The other four religious duties – witnessing the Muslim creed, the five daily prayers, fasting in the month of Ramadan and the giving of alms – can be fulfilled anywhere. During the Hajj, pilgrims follow in the footsteps of the Prophets Abraham and Muhammad. The collective rites connect them to all Muslims who have fulfilled the obligation before them and strengthen the feeling of belonging to the Muslim community.

The Hajj is performed in the last month of the Muslim calendar, *Dhu al-Hijja*, from day eight to thirteen in special *ihram* clothing. Muslims first perform *tawaf*, the seven-time counterclockwise circumambulation of the Ka'ba. They then commemorate Hagar's desperate search for water for her thirsty son Ishmael, by running between the hillocks of Marwa and Safa. The next day is the day of *Wuquf*, the standing and praying on or near Mount 'Arafat, also called the 'Mountain of Mercy', where people ask God for forgiveness. The last day of the Hajj is devoted to stoning the devil at the three pillars in Mina, symbolising the chasing away of evil. This is followed by the Feast of Sacrifice that commemorates Abraham's intention to sacrifice his son Ishmael at God's request, a feast that is celebrated worldwide by all Muslims. Pilgrims might repeat the stoning of the three pillars on two consecutive days if they wish to do so.

With increased prosperity and the convenience of air travel the Holy City nowadays welcomes up to three million Muslim pilgrims every Hajj season. If the Saudi authorities did not impose a limit on the number of pilgrim visas granted for every country, this number would be far larger. In the second half of the nineteenth century the emergence of ocean-going steamships brought about an influx of more Southeast Asian pilgrims embarking on the trip. Muslims from Indonesia, which was then under Dutch colonial rule, made up the largest group. The establishment of a Dutch Consulate in Jeddah in 1872 was a direct result of this: besides facilitating and supporting Indonesian pilgrims the consulate also aspired to exert more control over those who stayed on in Mecca. The Dutch authorities feared that they were fuelling resistance movements in the Netherlands East Indies with ideas about pan-Islamic nationalism.



The practive of covering the Ka'ba with textiles probably goes back to the fifth century CE, as part of an ancient tradition to veil sacred places as a sign of respect. From the early Islamic period onwards the ruler who had established authority over the Holy Cities usually provided a new costly *Kiswa* every year. In the nineteenth and early twentieth century, the Kiswa was produced each year in the *Dar al-Kiswa*, a special factory established in 1817 in Cairo.

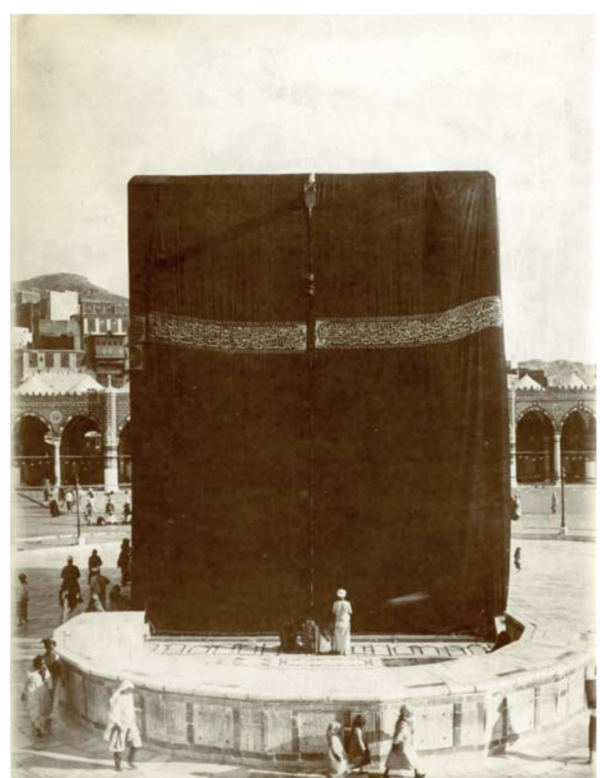
This square Kiswa-fragment was originally part of the oblong embroidered belt that was added at one third from the top of the covering. There it once served to divide the multiple epigraphic cartouches in high-relief padding and gold-thread from one another. A similar composition is noticeable on the far left of the inscription in the photograph below, where the oblong band is adjoined by two embroidered squares. Responsible for the image, which shows the northwestern facade of the Ka'ba, was in all probability the Turkish commercial photographer Mahmud Hamdi 'Arabgirli, a resident of Mecca.

In the fragment's background the zigzag bands with the Muslim creed are visible. The gold-embroidered composition, with the invocation of four names of God arranged along the outer circle (*ya Hannan, ya Mannan, ya Dayyan and ya Subhan*, meaning the Merciful, the Benefactor, the Devout, the Sublime) was created before 1878. The famous master calligrapher 'Abdallah Zuhdi (d. 1878) was likely responsible for its integrated design of consonants and braided lozenges. Similarly designed fragments in the Topkapı Collection in Istanbul even contain dates and the signature of this highly regarded artist. Embroiderers used this design over a longer period of time.

After the ceremony of dressing the Ka'ba with the new Kiswa during the Hajj season had taken place, the old cover was cut into pieces. Members of the Banu Shayba family, who traditionally kept the keys to the Ka'ba, presented these fragments to dignitaries and sold the rest. Whether this particular fragment was a gift to or bought by Emile Gobée, the Dutch consul between 1917 and 1921, is not known. Another square piece with identical inscriptions but a different design was presented to the Dutch physician and Muslim convert Dr Pieter van der Hoog. It was his reward for aiding a Meccan woman in life-threatening labour during his pilgrimage in 1935. She gave birth to a healthy baby boy. [LM]

Burton 1874, III, 56; Khan & Sparroy 1905, 165; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 21; Ba Salama 1935, 162; Van der Hoog 1935, 112–114, plate 8; Mojan 2010, 166, 170, 230; Mirza 2011, 137–138, plate 110; Mols 2013, 214–215; Nassar 2013

Kiswa-fragment, silk lampas with gold embroidery, Egypt, before 1921, 75x85.5 cm, Gobée collection (1959). [RMV RV-B118-1]



Photograph of the Ka'ba with the Kiswa, probably by Mahmud Hamdi 'Arabgirli, Mecca, early 1920s, 22.9x17 cm. [UBL Or. 26.362: 5]



جقمق
برسم خزانة المولوي السلطاني
الملكي الظاهري ابو سعيد
عز نصره
ACAD.LVGD
Ex Legato Viri Ampliss. LEVINI WARNERI.

The need to prepare oneself for the long travel to Mecca and the rituals of the Hajj stimulated the development of pilgrimage guidebooks. The lobed roundel on the illuminated title page in gold, blue and red on the left informs us that this Arabic handwritten guide belonged to the library of the Egyptian Mamluk Sultan Jaqmaq (r. 1438–1453), who had performed Hajj himself. An abridged version of the text was ordered by one of his predecessors, Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh (r. 1412–1421). Besides explaining the rites, it addressed practical matters such as bridging the long distance to the Holy Cities, how to wear the special *ihram* clothing, and the prohibition against perfuming and sexual intercourse during the rituals, among other things. The text also addressed the rewards of the Hajj as penance for one's sins and the mercy that would befall the pilgrim after seeing the Ka'ba. The manual concluded with information about the visit to the Great Mosque of Medina and the Prophet Muhammad's grave.

In the nineteenth century, cheaper printed Hajj instruction books became available. The black-and-white printed manual below was written by Sayyid 'Uthman (1822–1914), a well-known Indonesian scholar. He had studied with Mufti Sayyid Ahmad Dahlan in Mecca, and performed Hajj for the first time when he arrived in Mecca in 1847. It was written in Malay to serve the large number of Indonesian pilgrims.

In addition to handbooks, pilgrims could also receive guidance from actual guides in Jeddah and Mecca who, besides offering practical assistance, demonstrated the proper execution of the rites to them. These were often fellow countrymen residing in Mecca who could instruct in their native language.

Pilgrims who wanted academic instruction on the rituals and background of the pilgrimage could turn to the religious scholars in the Great Mosque of Mecca. Each year during the tenth month of the Islamic calendar, two months before the actual Hajj would take place, their lessons were devoted to the topic. Works of Islamic jurisprudence and pilgrim manuals were the basis for instruction. [LM]

'Uthman 1892; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 23, 211, 239; Freitag & Clarence-Smith 1997, 250–252; Mols 2013, 38–39

Manuscript on paper of *Kitab Manasik al-Hajj 'ala arba'at madhahib*, Egypt, 1412–1421, fol. 1a, 26.5x17.5 cm, Warner collection (1665). [UBL Or. 458]

Printed edition of *Manasik Haji dan 'Umrah* by Sayyid 'Uthman, Mecca, 1310 (1892 CE), p. 2, 27.5x20.5 cm. [UBL 890 A 32]


R. UNIV. BIBLIOTHEEK LEIDEN
مناسك الحج

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم


ANGKATAN SLUYTERS & CO ORANG NAIK HADJI
KAPAL DARI ORANG BANGSA ISLAM
SLUYTERS & Co
SLUYTERS & Co

An Advertisement Poster for Indonesian Pilgrims

The transport of pilgrims from the Netherlands East Indies to Jeddah was tightly controlled by a cartel of three Dutch shipping companies, the so-called *Kongsi Tiga*, who sold all-inclusive package deals with the assistance of numerous native and Dutch agencies in the colonies. Most passages were arranged through intricate networks of village shaykhs or headmen, who were in close contact with the local people. Tickets sold for as much as 1000 guilders (c. 450 euros), more often than not the savings of a lifetime. All pilgrims were required to buy a return ticket to prevent them from being stranded in Arabia. This poster was printed by C. Kolff & Co., Weltevreden, for the firm of Sluyters & Co. of Batavia, a large insurance broker and, apparently, travel agent. The date is not clear: the poster features an Ottoman flag, which would suggest a date before 1916, but the design and typography look altogether too modern for that. The poster advertises an elegant ocean liner as 'the ship of the Muslim community' (*Kapal dari orang bangsa Islam*).

However, the truth wasn't nearly as enticing as this. A photograph, taken in March 1926 by the Dutch East Indian doctor Dirk Gerrit Weigardus van Voorthuysen (1888–1942), shows a crowd of pilgrims below decks behind a chaotic pile of luggage and cooking utensils. The man in the centre with the white jacket and typical Javanese headdress is Umar Said Tjokroaminoto (1882–1934), one of the founding fathers of independent Indonesia. The caption informs us that he is sailing on board the SS *Rondo*, a ship of the Stoomvaart Maatschappij Nederland (Nederland Line Royal Dutch Mail) of Amsterdam. She was built in Rotterdam as a cargo vessel, adaptable to the transport of pilgrims. In previous years she had actually been used for shipping livestock, which, ironically, echoes in an oblique way the words of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje that 'Indonesian pilgrims arrived in Mecca like sheep and returned likewise'. [AV]

Brugmans 1950, 70–71; Vredenbregt 1962; Laffan 2003, 47–54, 226; Oostdam 2004a, 6; RDM website 2016

Poster of Sluyters & Co., Batavia, offering Hajj passages, Weltevreden (Batavia), probably 1920s, 88x66 cm, KITLV collection. [UBL KITLV 51 H 5]



Photograph of Umar Said Tjokroaminoto on board SS *Rondo*, by D.G.W. van Voorthuysen, March 1926, 8.5x11 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 B: 1]



TICKET No. YS. 257

6

De wd. Gezaghebber b/h Binnenl. Bestuur
van Indragirische Bovenlanden (²)
verleent vergunning aan
Maloejoed.
(Nederlandsch onderdaan), geboren te Telok Sidjoeah
district Kelajang
afdeeling Indragiri
gouvernement / residentie Riouw en Onderh.
laatstelijk woonachtig te Telok Sidjoeah
district Kelajang
afdeeling Indragiri
gouvernement / residentie Riouw en Onderh.
van beroep Landbouwer
om ter bedevaart zich te begeven naar Mekka onder verplichting dezen pas aan te bieden aan:

A. den Havenmeester van de plaats van vertrek uit Nederlandsch-Indië ter viseering.
B. den Consul der Nederlanden te Djeddah:
   a. bij aankomst, ter viseering en ter afscheuring van de strook;
   b. bij vertrek, ter viseering.
C. het Onderdistrictshoofd van / den bevoegden gezaghebbende op de plaats, waar hij zich na terugkeer van de reis zal vestigen, binnen zeven dagen na aankomst aldaar, ter teekening.

Rengat (³)

(¹) gezinsleden De Regent (Java en Madoera).
(²) Den datum der Onderafdeeling (Buitengewesten).
(³) Qualiteit van Onderafdeeling.
(⁴) Plaats waar de afgifte.
(⁵) Handteekening

7

Maleische tekst met Arabische letters aan ommezijde volledig invullen!!

No. 239.-

SIGNALEMENT:
Geslacht: man
Ouderdom: 55
Gestalte:
Lengte:
Aangezicht:
Oogen:
(⁴) Wenkbrauwen:
Neus:
Mond:
Kin:
Knevel / Baard:

(plaats voor portret)

Bijzondere kenteekenen:
Eigenaar / Eigenaresse van dezen pas verzoekt dat bij zijn/haar eventueel overlijden zijn/haar geld en goederen, die hij/zij bij zich heeft, in bewaring gegeven zullen worden aan zijn/haar reisgenoot:
Boedjang gl. Penglima Prang (pas No. 249)
of Lopah (pas No. 247)
of (pas No.) (⁷)
den 17 Februari 1928

De wd. Gezaghebber voornoemd,
(⁵)

(⁴) Alleen in vullen, indien het portret ontbreekt.
(⁵) en (⁶) Onderscheidenlijk handteekening en stempel van de autoriteit die den pas afgeeft.
(⁷) Volledig invullen, ook op pag. 9!



Pilgrimage Travel under Dutch Colonial Rule

From 1825 onwards, Indonesian pilgrims under Dutch colonial rule were required to buy a travel pass in Indonesia to visit Western Arabia. From 1875 onwards, three years after the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah had been established, Indonesian pilgrims had to report to the envoy upon their arrival in Arabia. In exchange for a visa document, they had to leave their travel passes, which held their name, hometown and information about their possessions in case of theft, at the consulate. This changed in 1909 when the passes were modernised and the consulate simply had to tear a page with the holder's information from a travel booklet and stamp it. There were other improvements, such as required vaccinations against smallpox, cholera and typhoid, and the addition in the booklet of the names of fellow travellers to whom a traveller's possessions in case of death should be given. That these belongings might otherwise be sold was noted by pilgrim Gazanfar 'Ali Khan in 1902: the Meccan Suwayqa market held an auction of the effects of deceased pilgrims twice daily. To retrieve the belongings was not always easy as pilgrim guides or local courts held onto them. In 1930 the Saudi government required that pilgrim guides keep a death register of pilgrims under their care and hand their belongings over to the government so that claims by family members could be made.

This travel booklet, *Reispas naar Mekka*, of twelve pages was issued in 1928 for Mr. Maloejoed, a farmer by profession. Only his age and gender were specified, his photograph making the specification of facial features redundant. The booklet was printed both in Dutch and Malay, but the handwritten information was in Dutch only. On the whole, pilgrims were adamant about holding onto their *reispas* as to them it served as testimony of their pilgrimage, which explains why this is the only Mecca travel booklet in Museum Volkenkunde.

The photograph gives an impression of the bureaucracy during Hajj travel. It shows Indonesian pilgrims in the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah waiting for their visa or travel arrangements to go to the Holy Places or to organise their return home by ship. The image must have been taken between 1906 and 1911 when Dutch Consul Nicolaas Scheltema and, to his left, dragoman Haji Agus Salim, both seated behind the table, were employed in the harbour city. [LM]

Khan & Sparroy 1905, 257; Eisenberger 1928, 20–65; Rutter 1930, 150; Nationaal Archief. Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulaat (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Djeddah (Turkije / Saoedi-Arabië), 2.05.53, inv. nr. 134, Bedevaartverslag 1353 (1934–35), 20–29, appendices A-J; Dingemans 1973, 107–108; Laffan 2003, 181–189; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 97–99

Travel booklet for pilgrims, Netherlands East Indies, 1928, 21.4x14 cm. [RMV without number]

Photograph of visa arrangements of Indonesian pilgrims in the Dutch Consulate, Jeddah, 1906–1911, 13x18 cm, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.365: 6]

XXXVI



Pilger aus Gross-Atjeh mit zwei „Wakil's".

Pilgrims from Aceh in the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah

The portraits of pilgrims made by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in the second half of 1884 in the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah give a human face to the statistical information provided by the consuls in their yearly Hajj reports. With the exception of one woman, the pictures show male pilgrims of various age groups, the majority from different parts of the Netherlands East Indies. It would have been easy for Snouck Hurgronje to meet the latter, for they had to visit the consulate to exchange their travel passes for a temporary visa. In his diary and letters, Snouck Hurgronje is silent on any problems relating to photography in the confinement of the consulate. But in Mecca the reactions towards portraying people ranged from disapproval to enthusiasm, as he disclosed in his letters to Vice-Consul Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs.

Of the four seated pilgrims from Aceh on this photograph, the second person on the right has been identified as Teungku di Cot Plieng, a well-known adversary of the Dutch in the Netherlands East Indies. Standing behind them are two *wakil*s, representatives of the pilgrim guides in Mecca. Besides welcoming the pilgrims in Jeddah harbour, wakils took care of sending their luggage to the rented accommodations. In Mecca the pilgrim guides (called *mutawwif*, literally those who support during the *tawaf*, the circumambulation of the Ka'ba) also mediated in practical matters, such as temporary housing, transport, food and tips besides being responsible for guidance during the Hajj or 'Umra rites proper. According to Snouck Hurgronje, in 1884–1885 there were 180 active pilgrim guides for the Indonesian pilgrims. Of these, many were of Indonesian descent. Their familiarity with the customs and language of their countrymen gave them an advantage, as did their connections to those who canvassed for the Hajj in the Netherlands East Indies. Although they were organised in a guild, Snouck Hurgronje repeatedly recorded the exploitation of pilgrims by guild members. For foreigners it was desirable to acquire the official and protected title of mutawwif as it increased their status in their homeland. [LM]

Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 36; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 23–29, 31, 222–223; Witkam 2007, 110, 114, 118–119, 607, ill. 93

Photograph of pilgrims from Aceh and two standing *wakil*s, by C. Snouck Hurgronje, 'proof copy' with handwritten caption, 19x24 (27x36.5) cm. [UBL Or. 26.404: 120]



المحمل الشريف
Déposé 12193.



The Mahmal

Up until the 1920s the centrepiece of the yearly Hajj caravan from Egypt to Mecca was a camel with a high palanquin, the so-called *mahmal*, on its back. This square wooden frame with a pyramid-shaped top was covered with richly embroidered fabric. With its pointed protrusion at the top, and its height of four metres it towered high above the rest of the caravan. Until the twelfth century mahmals were used to transport rich pilgrims, but from 1277 onwards they were empty. Inscribed with the name and titles of the ruler and verses of the Qur'an it became a symbol of religious authority. This tradition was brought to a halt in 1926 when the custom was abolished under the newly established Saudi rule in Mecca. The parading of the mahmal through the streets of Cairo continued, however, until 1952.

The richly embroidered cover was only used for the departure and welcoming parades in Cairo and the arrival and departure in Jeddah and Mecca. This photograph on the left below, probably made by Consul Charles Olke van der Plas (res. 1921–1926), was most likely taken in the vicinity of Jeddah as the camel is carrying the luxury version. To protect the mahmal from damage and dust a cheaper alternative made of cotton with simple appliques was carried during the long desert and sea passage.

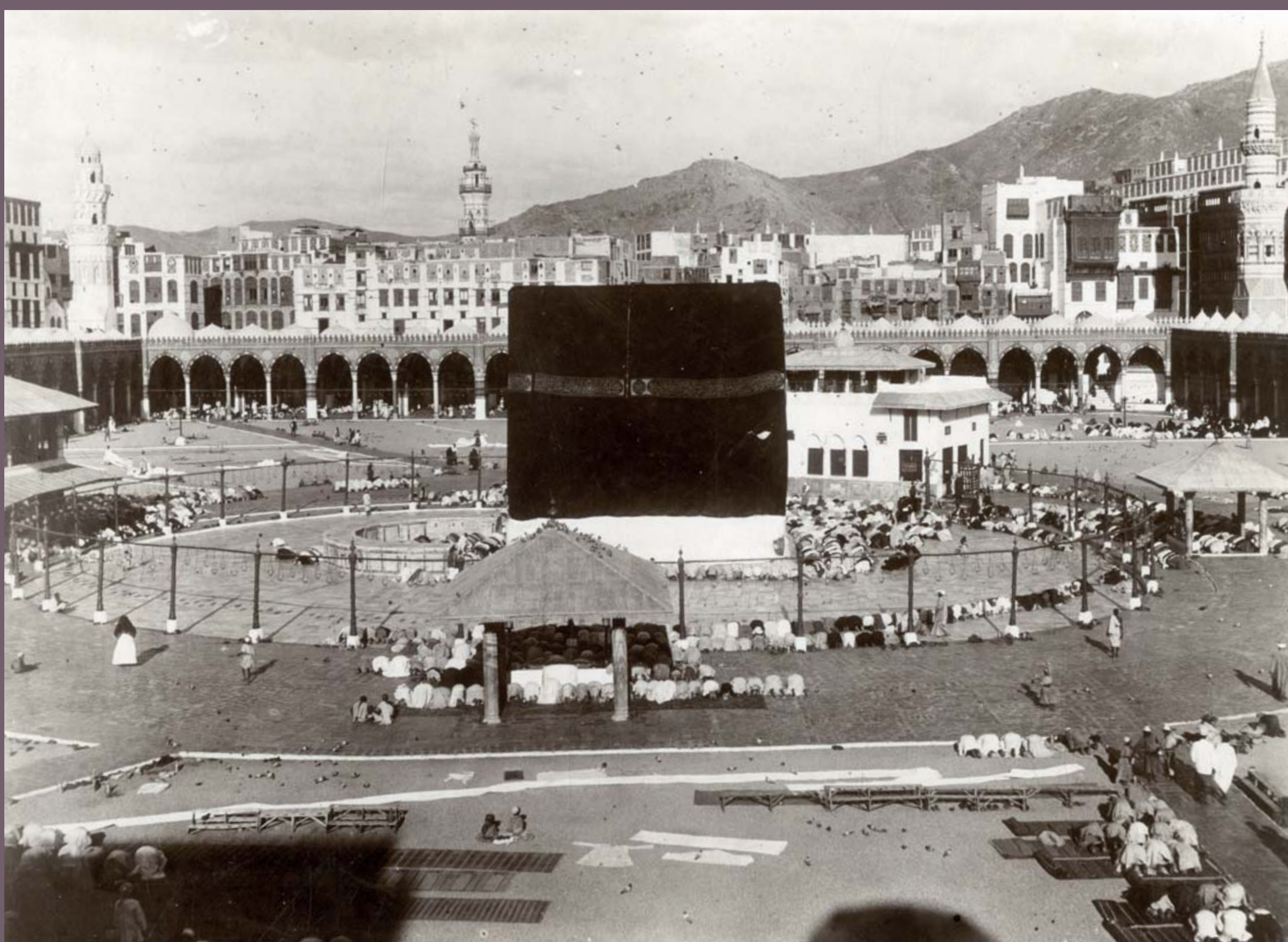
Besides the parading of the mahmal as the centrepiece of the Hajj caravan, in his diary Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje also described processions in Jeddah with locally manufactured mahmals that were carried by four men. Each quarter tried to surpass the others by outdoing them with the beauty of its mahmal. This competition sometimes resulted in clashes between quarters. No information was provided about its size, material or (symbolic) function.

The mahmal that was carried along in the Hajj caravan appealed to the imagination of Muslim pilgrims and Western travellers alike for it became a popular subject on postcards, prints and oil paintings. This colourful lithograph on the left above sports musicians, military people and male and female onlookers welcoming the return of the Hajj caravan. Notable is the half-naked man riding a camel behind the bearer of the Hajj banner. According to the English Orientalist Edward William Lane (1801–1876), who lived in Cairo between 1825 and 1828, he was called the 'Sheikh of the camel', known for wearing trousers only and rolling his head all along the way. This legendary figure was supplied by the Egyptian authorities with a camel and provisions to yearly make the journey to Mecca. [LM]

Lane 1860, 444–447; Jomier 1953; Witkam 2007, 68; Chekhab-Abudaya & Bresc 2013, 104–107, 109–111; Mols 2013, 86–87; Porter 2013, 201–203; Saghi & Al 'Abdul Kareem 2014, 82–83

Coloured lithograph of the parade of the mahmal, signed 'M.M.L., Déposé 12193', Cairo?, before 1916, 30x38 cm, Van Buitendijk collection (1919). [RMV RV-1972-14]

Photograph of the mahmal, probably by C.O van der Plas, 1921–1926, 10x8 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or 12.288 M: 10]



The Ka'ba

This photograph of the Ka'ba with the city of Mecca in the background was taken from a building overlooking the courtyard of the Great Mosque from the north, near Ibrahim's gate. A southern position was a more common vantage point so that the Maqam Ibrahim (the place where the Prophet Abraham once stood in prayer) and the Mosque's pulpit got maximum exposure as well. On this image the thatched roof of the Maqam Maliki is in the foreground, the Maqam Hanbali and the two-storey Maqam Hanafi to the right and left of the Ka'ba respectively. The white-washed building just behind the Ka'ba to its right is the construction over the Zamzam well. The faithful are performing the prayer together, some finding shelter under these various edifices, others are prostrating on prayer rugs in the open air.

In the foreground and the background of the courtyard lengths of white cloth are stretched out to dry. Both the Swiss traveller Johann Ludwig Burckhardt (1784–1817) in 1814 and the pilgrim Gazanfar 'Ali Khan almost a century later commented on this: it was customary to wash winding sheets and other linens in water from the well of Zamzam and drying them on the ground or hanging them between columns in the Great Mosque of Mecca. Hajjis usually bought the shroud they wished to be buried in in Mecca, washed it themselves at the Zamzam well or let others do it for a recompense that varied according to the financial position of the pilgrim. They believed that if the body was wrapped in these winding sheets, the peace of the soul after death would be more effectually secured, and the water would protect the dead during the time between death and resurrection. Some pilgrims saw trading opportunities in these shrouds.

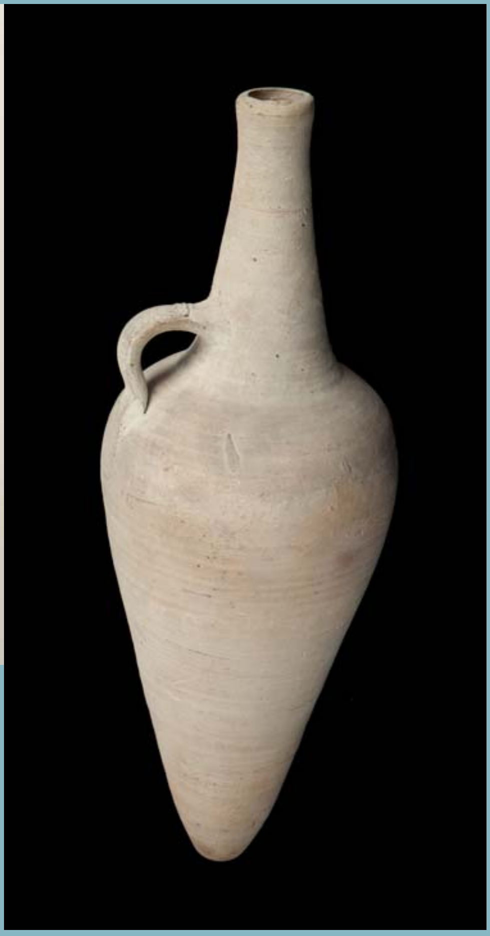
The photograph was sent in 1926 to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje by the Dutch Chargé d'Affaires Daniël van der Meulen. It was probably taken by the Turkish photographer Mahmud Hamdi 'Arabgirli, who ran a commercial photo studio in Mecca. The Ottoman Turkish caption on its reverse side explains that the view of the Great Mosque was taken from Ibrahim's gate (Bab Ibrahim). The same angle was chosen for the earliest colour photograph of the Great Mosque of Mecca, published in July 1953 by the National Geographic Magazine. [LM]

Khan & Sparroy 1905, 145; Ba Salama 1935, plate opposite 252; Sheikh 953, 28–29; Burckhardt 1968, 151; Mirza & Shawoosh 2011, 112, plate 87, 165, plate 146

Photograph of the Ka'ba and the Great Mosque of Mecca, probably by Mahmud Hamdi 'Arabgirli, Mecca, early 1920s, 17x23 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 C: 12]







Zamzam Water

Islamic sources associate the origin of the Zamzam well in Mecca to Hagar's search for water for her thirsty son Ishmael. Her quest is enacted by pilgrims during *Sa'y,* the rite of walking or running between the hillocks of Safa and Marwa. Pilgrims drink Zamzam water after performing Sa'y and during their stay in Mecca. Since early Islamic times beneficial qualities have been ascribed to the water.

Although pilgrims in the nineteenth century could, in theory, draw water from the well with leather buckets, it was the guild of the Zamzamis that was responsible for its distribution in the Great Mosque. These Zamzamis provided it luke-warm in small metal cups from large earthenware containers that stood on a wooden base in the courtyard. Well-to-do pilgrims could also buy elongated porous earthenware jugs called *doraq*s, in which the water was kept cool through a process of evaporation. Each time they visited the mosque they were offered their personal jug inscribed with their name. A small bunch of palm tree fibres that stuck out from the opening of the neck filtered the water and stopped insects from entering the vessel.

Because of their pointed base Zamzam jugs were usually kept in a pile, as shown in the foreground of the photograph below. This image, which was one of six circular photos that were exposed on the same plate, was taken between 1886 and 1888 by an unknown photographer with a detective camera of the German firm Stirn. Its small lens could be stuck through a buttonhole.

Pilgrims took home the much coveted water as a souvenir, often in sealed tin flasks, which were manufactured in Mecca. According to pilgrim Gazanfar 'Ali Khan it was not customary to bargain over their price at the beginning of the twentieth century. It was, however, traded commercially, for in 1880 Zamzam water was exported to Indonesia and Egypt for a total worth of 3000 Maria Theresa thalers. Vice-Consul Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs also dispatched several glass bottles with Zamzam water for scientific analysis to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. [LM]

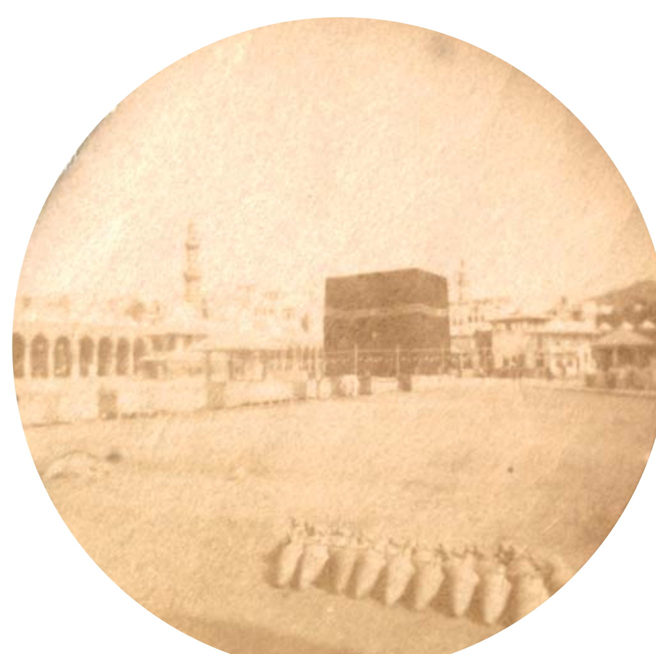
Ali Bey 1816, II, 83, 100; Lane 1860, 262; Kruyt 1880, 361; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 37, no. 2; Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 147, no. 2, plate 11, fig 2; Snouck Hurgronje & van Romburgh 1886, 271; Khan & Sparroy 1905, 262; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 21–22; Burckhardt 1968, 116, 136, 144; Van der Wal 2011, 48–49, 52; Porter 2012, 75, plates 43–45, 190–191, plate 137; Mols 2013, 124–125, 142–143, 216–217

Bottle with Zamzam water, glass, before 1958, 20x8 cm, Oosters Instituut permanent loan collection (1958). [RMV-B106-88]

Bottle with Zamzam water, tin, before 1958, 11.8xø9.3 cm, Oosters Instituut permanent loan collection (1958). [RMV-B106-21]

Zamzam jug, unglazed earthenware, Mecca, before 1886, 51.5x17.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-70]

Detail of photograph of the Great Mosque of Mecca with Zamzam jugs, unknown photographer, 1886–1888, 14x14 cm. [UBL Or. 26.368: 1]





Camels laden with a *shuqdhuf*, a kind of sedan or litter that is mounted on a pack animal, were a common sight in Jeddah. The photograph on the left taken by Dutch pharmacist Hendrik Freerk Tillema (1870–1952) in 1927 or 1928 shows that these double litters provided room for two passengers. Carpets, fastened with ties to the dome-shaped hood that was made of bent sticks, protected travellers from the sun. Two small baskets for holding water bottles and food could be tied to the hood. The wooden frame that stuck out from both sides of the camel sometimes caused collisions with houses, especially in narrow city streets.

After having arrived by sea in Jeddah, pilgrims in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century were met by guides or their representatives who hired camels for the trip to Mecca or Medina. For each camel with a shuqdhuf leaving Mecca for Medina, a duty had to be paid. Raids by Bedouins, who saw themselves as the rightful claimants of this part of the desert, made the travel between cities hazardous. They demanded tolls for passing through the region when the sum promised by the Ottoman government as a payoff had not been paid. They even kept pilgrims hostage. Not all raids had an equally tragic ending. Sometimes the Bedouins gave the pilgrims a receipt as compensation for what they had stolen from them. With it pilgrims could claim compensation with the Ottoman authorities, often with the help of the Dutch Consulate. Also the Grand Sharif of Mecca reimbursed pilgrims who had been robbed.

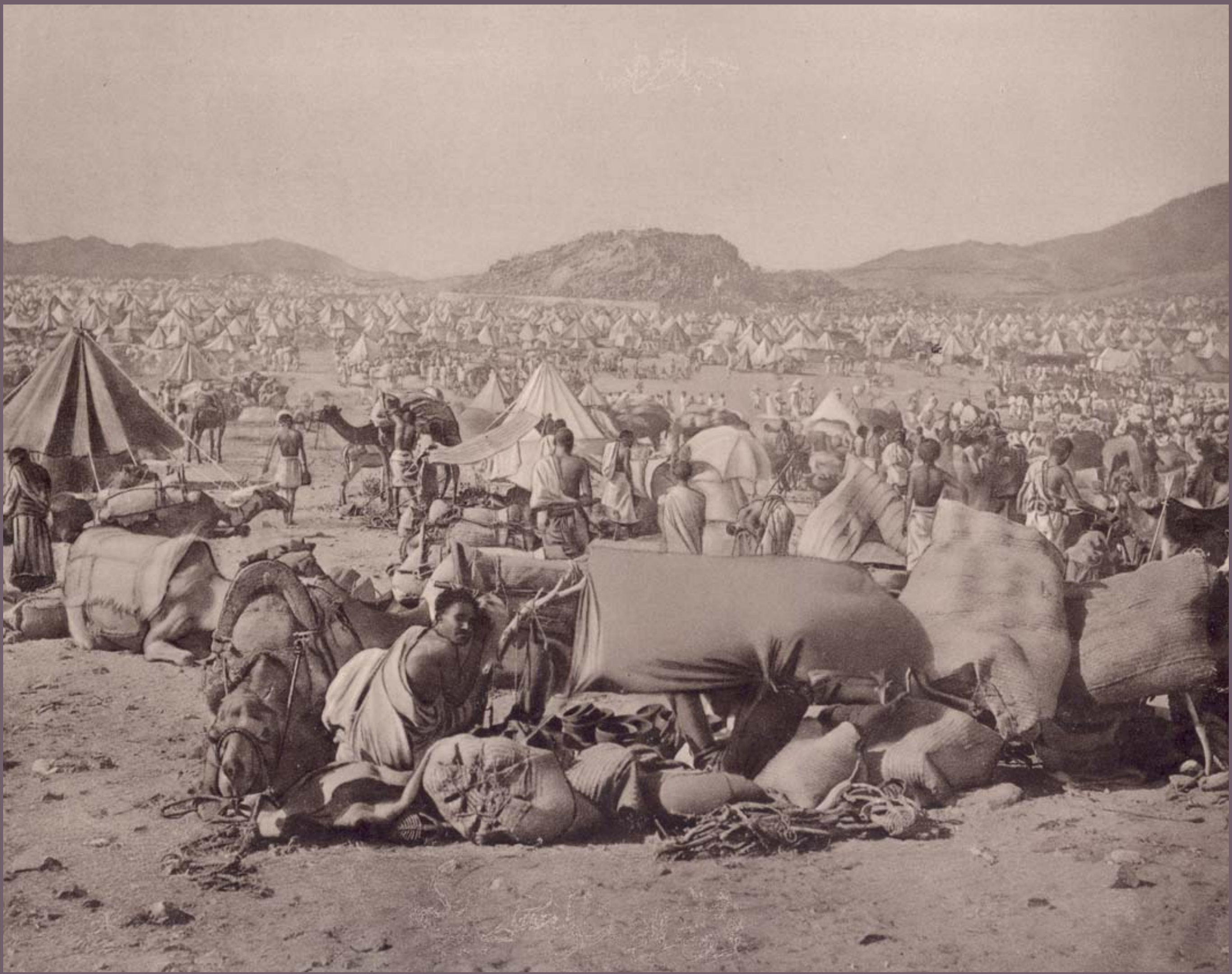
After the Saudi takeover in 1924–1925 pilgrims could opt for more modern modes of transport. A bus line between Jeddah and Mecca was carried out using Ford automobiles, as the photograph below from an album by Dutch physician Dirk Gerrit Weigardus van Voorthuysen in 1926 shows. There was, however, a price tag on this. In 1935, a bus ticket or a more private touring car between Mecca and Jeddah would be, respectively, double or triple the amount of that paid to hire a camel with a shuqdhuf. [LM]

Spanjaard 1923, 383; Snouck Hurgronje 1911, 402–404; Eisenberger 1928, 64; Rutter 1930, 151, 459; Nationaal Archief. Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulaat (1873-1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930-1950) te Djeddah (Turkije / Saoedi-Arabië), 2.05.53, inv. nr. 134, Bedevaartverslag 1353 (1934–35), appendix J

Photograph of a camel carrying a *shuqdhuf*, by H.F. Tillema, Jeddah, 1926–1927, 11.8x8.3 cm. [RMV RV-10765-58]

Photograph of Ford automobiles, by D.G.W. van Voorthuysen, Jeddah, March 1926, 8.5x11 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 B: 28]





Pilgrims on the Plain of ‘Arafat

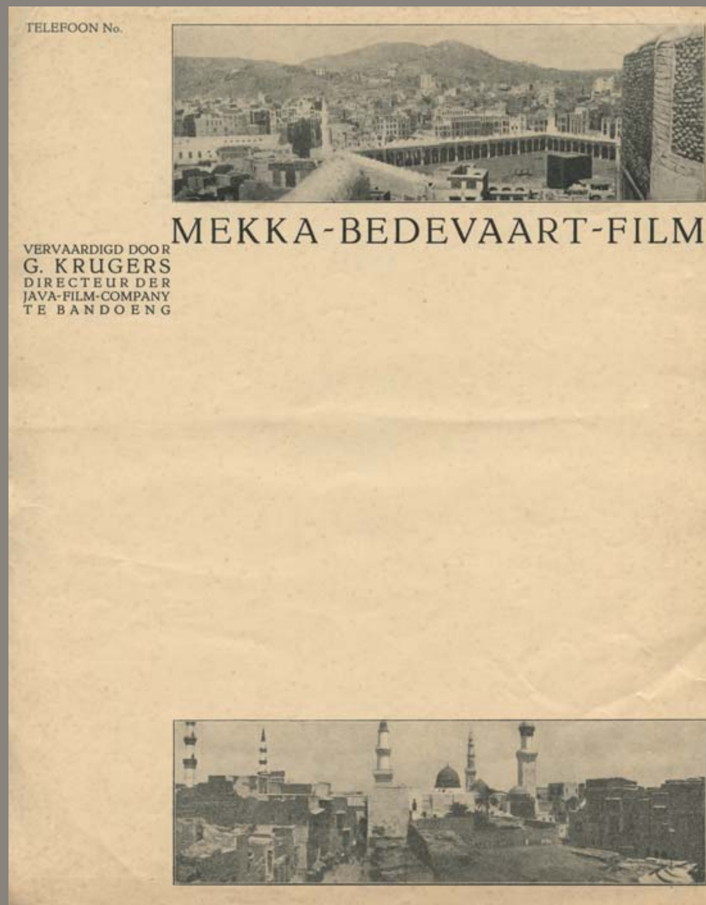
This photolithograph shows pilgrims in their white *ihram* clothes setting up camp on the wide plain of ‘Arafat. Mount ‘Arafat, also named the ‘Mountain of Mercy’, is visible in the back. According to Islamic sources Adam and Eve met on this elevation after their expulsion from paradise, and it was there that the Prophet Muhammad delivered his farewell speech in 632. The standing on or near the mountain of ‘Arafat, which is the central ritual of Hajj, takes place on the second day of the yearly Hajj. Then pilgrims pray from noon to sunset, recite the Qur’an, and ask God for forgiveness. If this rite is missed, the pilgrimage is deemed invalid.

The Meccan doctor Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar probably took this photograph during the Hajj season of 1305 (August 1888 CE). The scalding heat and the glaring light must have been challenging for the pilgrims and the photographer alike, and probably affected the photographic equipment and the chemicals. The photograph is taken from the south. It is the central image of a panorama, which was taken in three parts as a wide-angle lens was unavailable.

In the late nineteenth century this plain, of about eleven to thirteen kilometres long and six and a half kilometres wide, would accommodate thousands of pilgrims.
The camels, luggage, cooking utensils and firewood in the foreground give an impression of the logistics of pilgrimage. In 1902, the Persian pilgrim Gazanfar ‘Ali Khan noted that the location, shape, size and colour of the pilgrims’ tents on the plain differed according to class. The middle classes had dome-shaped tents with a white exterior and a red interior while those of the upper classes were sumptuous and of various colours. The pavilions of the Sharifian families were closest to Mount ‘Arafat. The Ottoman soldiers and privileged pilgrims pitched their tents along its north and north-west ridges, while less well-to-do pilgrims did so in the south. In between was the open-air bazaar. Animals were tethered to tent pegs, or in the case of poorer pilgrims, kept in the central open space of a circle of tents. [LM]

Snouck Hurgronje 1889, plate 13; Khan & Sparroy 1905, 206, 209; Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960–2009, I, 604 s.v. ‘Arafa (Wensinck, Gibb); Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 41–43; Sui 2008, 56–61

Central photolithograph of a three-part panorama of the plain of ‘Arafat, by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, probably 1888, 19x24.5 (27x36.5) cm. [UBL 21522 A 17]



TELEFOON No.

MEKKA-BEDEVAART-FILM

VERVAARDIGD DOOR
G. KRUGERS
DIRECTEUR DER
JAVA-FILM-COMPANY
TE BANDOENG



The earliest documentary film on the pilgrimage from the Netherlands East Indies to Mecca – and indeed the first moving images ever of the Arabian Peninsula – was made in 1928 by George Edward Albert Krugers (1890–1964). This Dutch founder of several film companies in Bandung on West Java shot the footage between February and July 1928, when he joined a large group of Indonesian pilgrims. He covered their entire journey: from their visit to the Indonesian pilgrim agent, the sea passage and arrival in Jeddah's harbour, to the rituals of the Hajj, their stay in Mecca and Jeddah and return trip. The filmmaker was advised by the Indonesian nationalist leader Haji Agus Salim (1884–1954), who had previously been employed as dragoman at the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah between 1906 and 1911 (see above, p. 63). The letter-headed paper (left above) with images of the Great Mosques of Mecca above and Medina below, along with the caption *Mekka-Bedevaart-Film* (Mecca Pilgrimage Film), indicates his high expectations of the distribution of the film. During the trip Krugers also took photographs, some of which ended up in the family photo albums, such as this lively street scene in Jeddah (left below).

The black-and-white silent documentary *Het Groote Mekka-Feest* (The Great Mecca Feast) is 72 minutes long, consists of four reels and was shot in the traditional 24 by 36mm format. Krugers probably filmed the scenes with the portable Bell & Howell (B&H) Eyemo 35mm, a film camera that came on the market in 1925. In a couple of scenes, pilgrims who noticed the equipment shot angry looks into the camera, but on the whole they did not seem bothered. To avoid suspicion, the filmmaker had himself circumcised before the journey, but according to his son Dr Jan Krugers the subject of his possible conversion to Islam was never a topic of discussion within the family.

The middle part of the film focuses on the rituals of the Hajj and the visit to the grave of the Prophet Muhammad in Medina. But the many sequences of daily life show that Kruger's interest went beyond the Hajj as a religious phenomenon. He portrayed street life in Jeddah and its coffeehouses, the shearing of a donkey, swings at a city fair, pilgrims and their luggage being loaded on camels, and the cooking equipment needed to feed the many mouths on the plain of 'Arafat. Also the arrival by motor car of King 'Abd al-'Aziz and his entourage in Mecca was filmed. The documentary was in all probability used to acquaint would-be pilgrims with the pilgrimage and the Dutch shipping companies, the so-called Kongsi Tiga (see above, pp. 60–61), which were responsible for the sea journey, and to attract those interested in performing the Hajj. Not only was almost one-third of the documentary focused on the voyage to Western Arabia and back, but it was also shown for several years as a main feature or short film in Javanese cinemas. [LM]

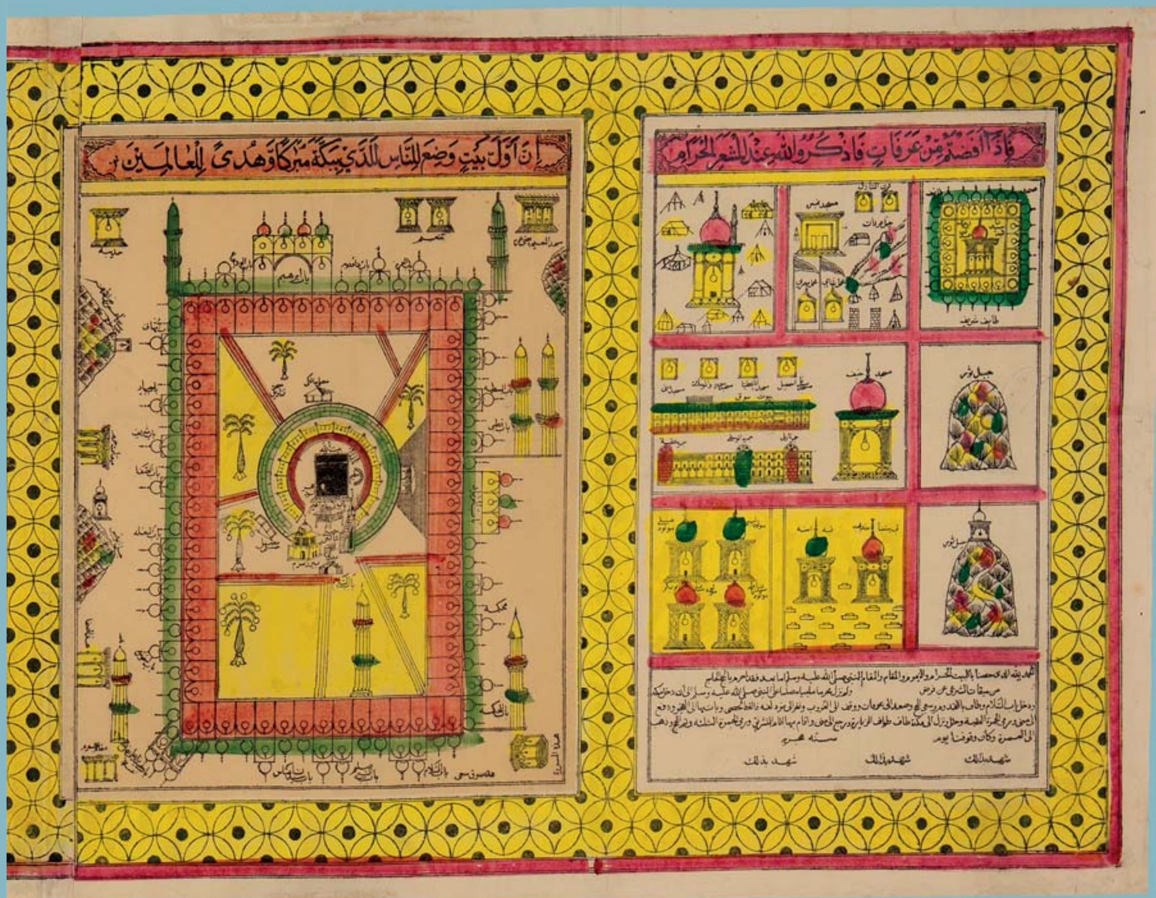
Laffan 2003, 181–189; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 99; private discussions with Dr Jan Krugers, son of filmmaker G.E.A. Krugers, in 2013, 2015 and 2016; private discussion with documentary maker Joop Span in 2016

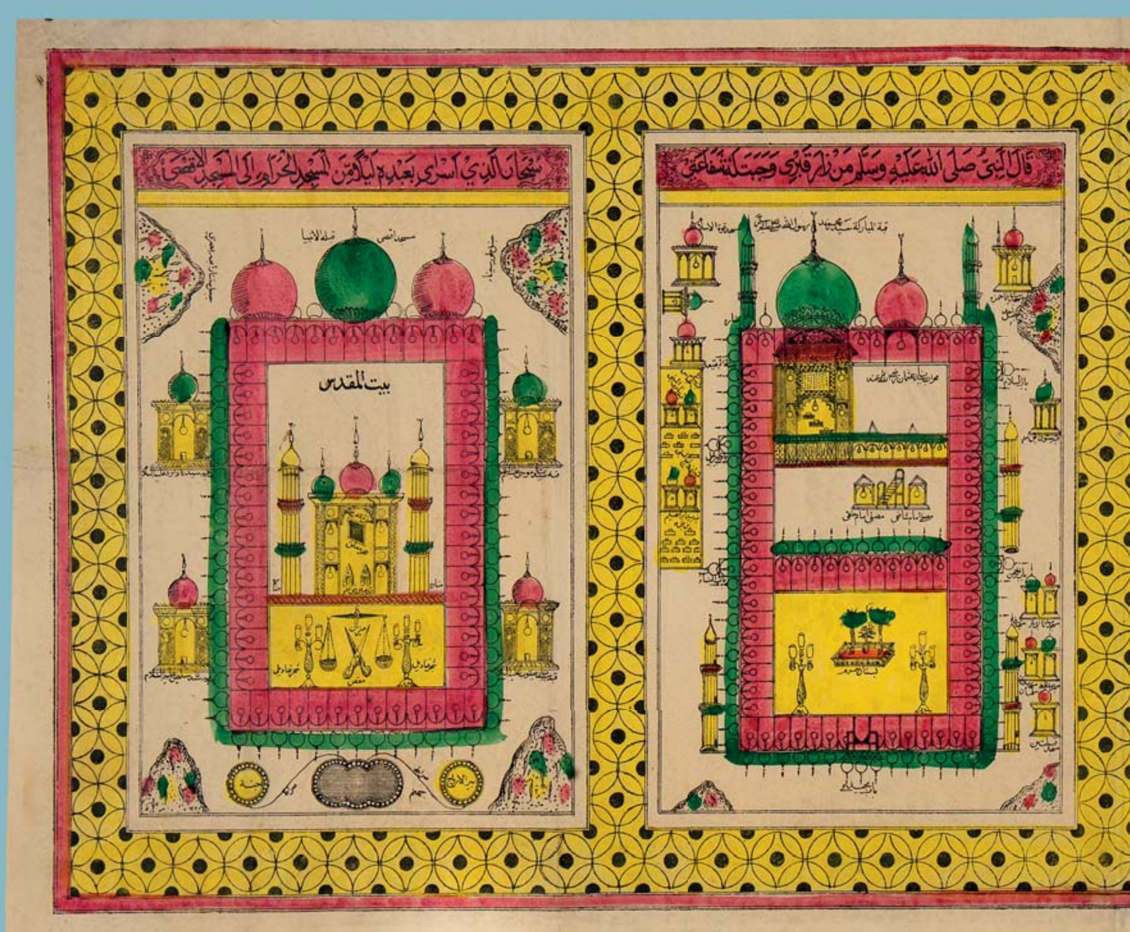
Letter-headed paper 'Mekka-Bedevaart-Film' with images of the Holy Places, Bandung, 1928, 27.5x21.6 cm. [UBL Or. 27.021]

Photograph of bustling Jeddah with pilgrims, shuqdhufs and luggage, by G.E.A. Krugers, Jeddah, 1928. [UBL Or. 27.021]



Still of people gathered around cooking-pots on the plain of 'Arafat from a digital copy of *Het Groote Mekka-Feest* (The Great Mecca Feast) by G.E.A. Krugers, 1928. [UBL Or. 27.020]


إن أول بيت وضع للناس للذي ببكة مباركا وهدى للعالمين
فإذا أفضتم من عرفات فاذكروا الله عند المشعر الحرام

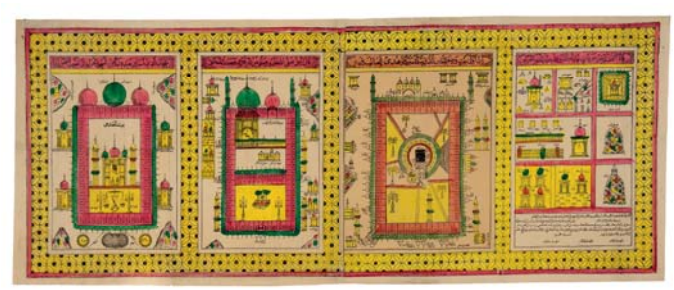

سبحان الذي أسرى بعبده ليلا من المسجد الحرام إلى المسجد الأقصى
بيت المقدس
قال النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم من زار قبري وجبت له شفاعتي

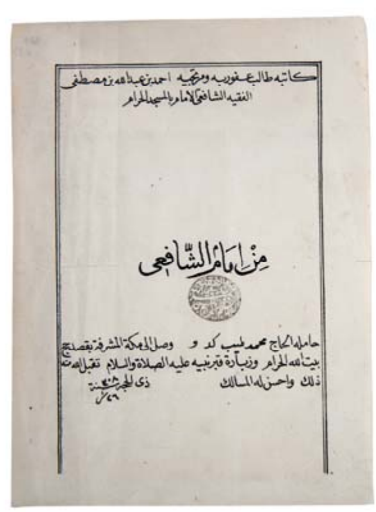
Besides combs and flasks with Zamzam water (see below, pp. 80–81 and above, pp. 70–71 respectively) pilgrims also took home illustrations of the Holy Cities and written testimonies of their pilgrimage. At least from the thirteenth century onwards, both hand-drawn and block-printed Hajj certificates were made in Mecca. The French traveller Jean Chardin (1643–1713) observed that they were hung as objects of piety in homes, or deposited in mosques or attached to their walls. Already in the thirteenth century there were pictorial and text-only certificates.

The colourful nineteenth-century pictorial certificate (below) shows four separate scenes which should be read from right to left. The certificate is complete, but is presented on the left in two separate parts to allow for maximum exposure. It starts with a composite scene which includes Mount ʿArafat, Mina and Muzdalifa, followed by a separate scene of the Great Mosque of Mecca. Then scenes of the Great Mosque of Medina and the Prophet Muhammad's grave, and the sanctuary in Jerusalem are depicted. These pivotal places are surrounded with labelled mosques, shrines and locations that refer to important events in early Islam. This visual overview of a wide range of commemorative buildings could easily have served as a base for instruction. Below the composite scene is a pre-printed testimony. It has blanks for the name of the pilgrim and the date on which the standing and praying at ʿArafat, the most important rite of the Hajj, had taken place.

The austere text-only certificate below was issued in August 1891 by the then Shafiʿite imam of the Great Mosque Ahmad ʿAbdallah ibn Mustafa. It contains the names of Indonesian pilgrims Muhammad Tayyib Kadu and Maryam Kadu, probably husband and wife. After they had passed away in Western Arabia, their belongings had been transferred to the Dutch Consulate. Muhammad and Maryam were not their original first names. It was common among Indonesian pilgrims to request a name change after the Hajj, which was regarded a symbolical cleansing and a special blessing, especially so when the new name was selected by religious men of great authority. The costs for this name change, 2.50 Dutch guilders, remained the same between 1885 and 1935. [LM]

Reinaud 1828, II, 224, 310–311; Snouck Hurgronje 1887, 346; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 236–238; RMV Archive, series dossier RV-870; Nationaal Archief. Ministerie van Buitenlandse Zaken: Consulaat (1873–1930) en Nederlands Gezantschap (1930–1950) te Djeddah (Turkije / Saoedi-Arabië), 2.05.53, inv. nr. 134, Bedevaartverslag 1353 (1934–1935), Appendix J; Snouck Hurgronje 1941, 13; Sourdel & Sourdel-Thomine 2006; Mols 2013, 210–211; Mols 2015







Right above: Hand-coloured lithograph of a pictorial pilgrimage certificate (with details left above and below), India (?), before 1892, 44x110cm, Spakler collection (1892). [RMV RV-870-24]

Right below: Lithographed text-only pilgrimage certificate, Mecca, 1891, 21x12.2cm, Spakler collection (1892). [RMV RV-870-23]





Practical objects whose daily use would invigorate memories of the Hajj were much coveted souvenirs. Before the second half of the nineteenth century especially, when transport was still slow and many pilgrims travelled on foot, small lightweight Hajj memorabilia such as combs made of aloeswood were popular. The Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (*Hadith*) ascribed medicinal qualities to this type of wood, although observers noted that its aromatic smell was often the result of perfuming. Combs with double rows and two openings for the fingers, such as the one here (left above), were used by women. Combs for men only had one row of teeth. To increase their impact they were sometimes dipped in Zamzam water.

Drinking bowls, such as the brass example here (left below), were popular keepsakes as well. They resembled the cups for Zamzam water in the Great Mosque of Mecca in the 1880s. The inside of this bowl was engraved with religious formulae. It was believed that by pouring water into the bowl, the beneficial qualities of the religious words were transferred to the liquid, and by drinking it, the verbal blessings could be internalised. Also the contact between the water and the iron strips attached to its rim was believed to increase the bowl's beneficial qualities.

Also popular were substances that were connected exclusively to the Holy Places, such as Zamzam water from Mecca (like the small tin flasks above, pp. 70–71) and dates from Medina. Another example is this pyramid-shaped souvenir covered with small straws (below), which was believed to have been made of dust from the Prophet's tomb in Medina, mixed with Zamzam water. Dust gathered from the Buthan riverbed in Medina was, too, thought to heal. According to a *Hadith*, the Prophet had said: 'In the name of God, the dust of our land, mixed with the spittle of one of us, will heal our sick, with the consent of our Lord.' [LM]

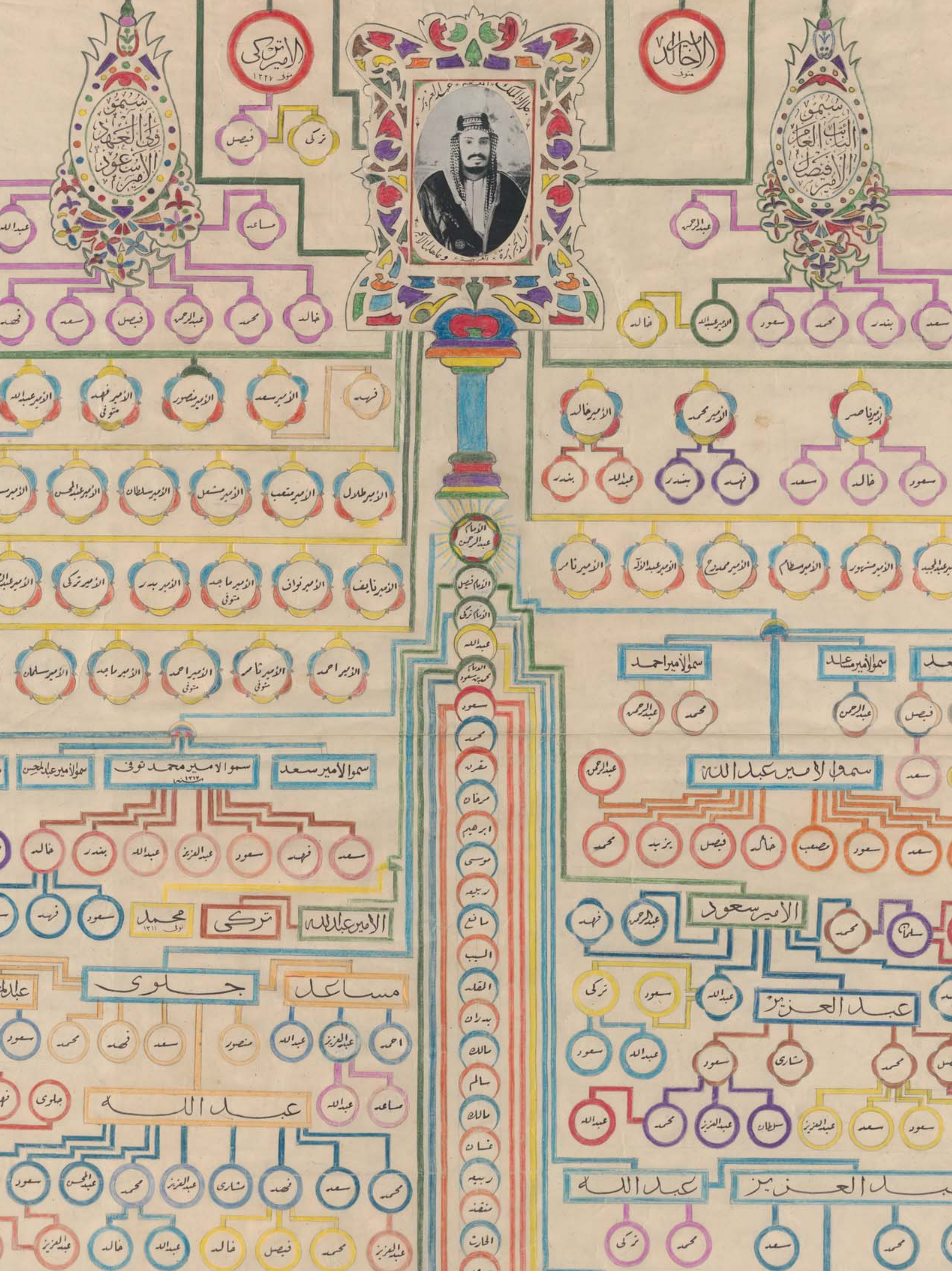
Lane 1860, 262; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 37, nos. 14, 15, plate 40, no. 9; Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 150, no. 22, 153, no. 49, plate 11, fig. 15, plate 14, fig. 9; Khan & Sparroy 1905, 270; Canaan 1927, 99; Kriss & Kriss-Heinrichs 1960, I, 39, II, 50–51, plate 53.5; Juynboll 2007, 57, 618, 620; Khan 2013, 237–238, plate 30; Milwright 2013, 28–29, plate 1

Comb, wood, Mecca, before 1887, 9.2x7.3 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1887). [RMV RV-628-1]

Bowl, brass, Mecca or Jeddah, before 1887, 4xø14 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-78a]

Conical pyramid, dust, straw, leather, paint, Medina, before 1958, 8x2.8 cm, Oosters Instituut permanent loan collection (1958). [RMV B106-49]




جلالة الملك عبد العزيز
الأمير تركي
متوفى ١٣٣٧
الأخ خالد
متوفى
سمو ولي العهد الأمير سعود
سمو النائب العام الأمير فيصل
فيصل
تركي
مساعد
عبد الرحمن
خالد
محمد
عبد الرحمن
فيصل
سعد
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الأمير ناصر
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الأمير نايف
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الأمير بدر
الأمير تركي
الأمير ثامر
الأمير عبد الإله
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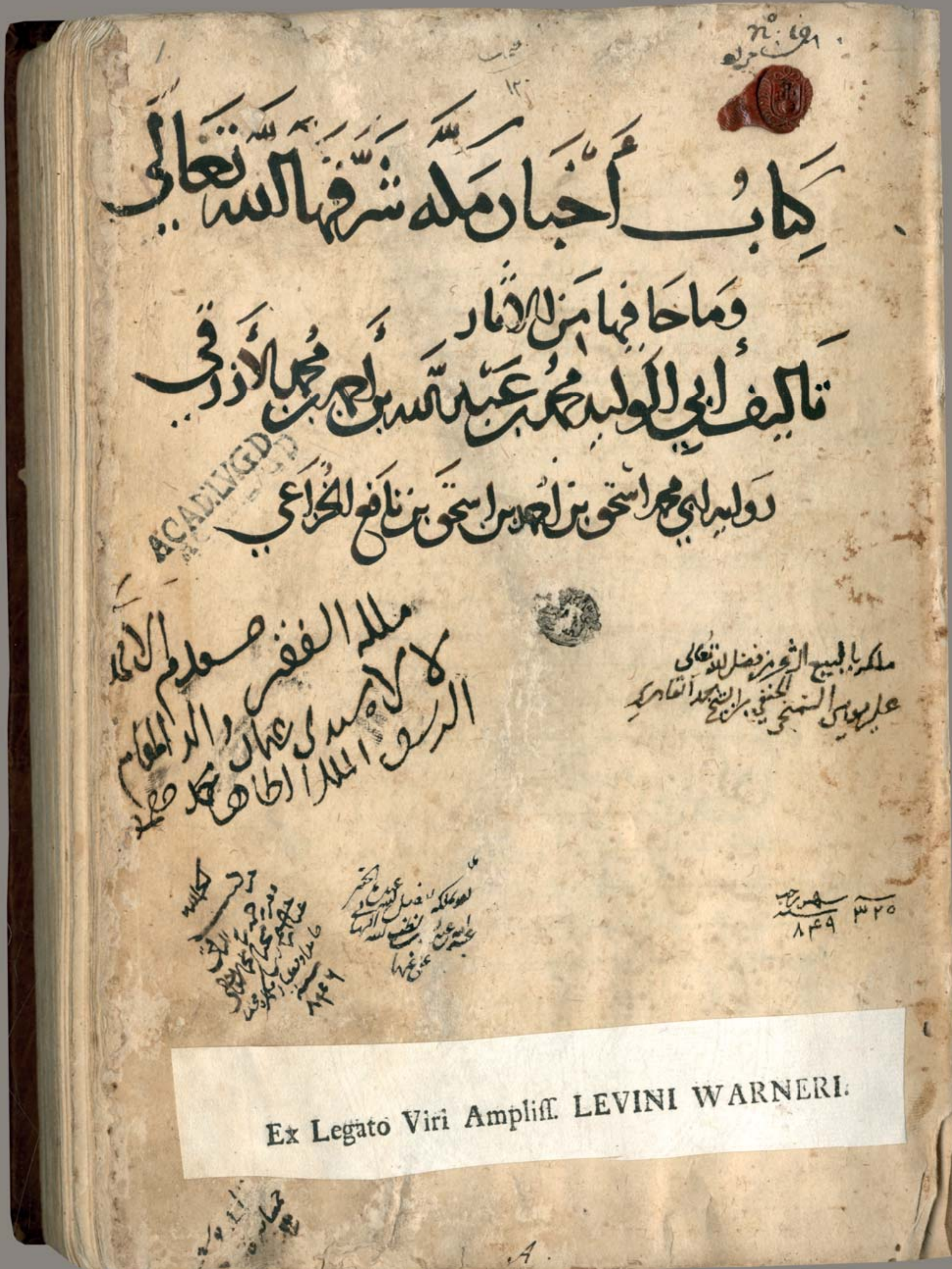
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History

Not only the Qur'an but also the person of the Prophet Muhammad and his life have long been the object of historical study. By extension, Muslim scholars have devoted more than average attention to the history of the Holy Places. After the foundation of the Umayyad Empire of Damascus, political power slipped through the hands of Mecca and Medina, but the great Muslim empires – after the demise of the Umayyad dynasty first the Abbasids, then the Mamluks and from 1517 CE the Ottomans – took special pride in their custodianship of the Great Mosques. Indeed, without their protection of the pilgrimage and charitable donations, Mecca and Medina would hardly have survived in the first place.

Nevertheless, it was out of the question that this distant province could be ruled effectively by any central government. Therefore, local dynasties emerged who recognised the suzerainty of the great empires and legitimised their own position by keeping the sanctuaries in repair and safeguarding the pilgrimage routes from the almost endemic depredations of the Bedouin tribes. From the early thirteenth century CE onwards, one single dynasty of descendants of the Prophet, the Sharifs, ruled over the Hejaz. Their rule was only briefly interrupted in the early nineteenth century by the conquests of the first Saudi State.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, however, a more serious crisis arose. The Ottoman Empire, under threat from the growing power of imperialist Europe, introduced military and political reforms, including a far-reaching policy of centralisation which also affected the Hejaz. The Sharifs tried to counter these measures, covertly at first, but in 1916, during the First World War, Sharif Husayn revolted openly against the sultan in Istanbul with the support of the British, and thus created the first independent Arab state in the modern world. After the war British support was withdrawn, leaving a political vacuum which was soon filled by the Saudi sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz of Nejd, who took power in 1924–1925 and assumed sole responsibility for the Holy Places. In 1932 he united his dominions into the modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.


كتاب أخبار مكة شرفها الله تعالى
وما جاء فيها من الآثار
تأليف أبي الوليد محمد بن عبد الله بن أحمد بن محمد الأزرقي
رواية أبي محمد إسحق بن أحمد بن إسحق بن نافع الخزاعي
ACAD. LVGD.
Ex Legato Viri Amplissi. LEVINI WARNERI.

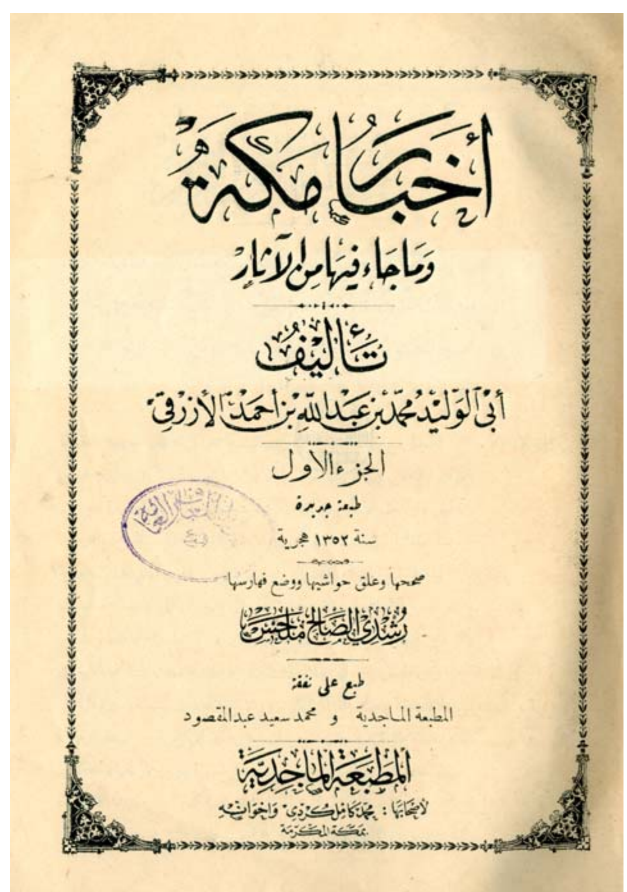
The Monuments of Mecca Recorded in the Ninth Century

The 'Book of Reports about Mecca and its Monuments' (*Kitab akhbar Makka wa-ma ja'a fiha min al-athar*) was compiled by Abu al-Walid Muhammad ibn 'Abdallah al-Azraqi, who died around the year 250 (865 CE). It is not a history or chronological survey along the lines we are familiar with today, but much rather a compilation of loosely related reports or stories (*akhbar*), transmitted by reliable spokesmen about the landmarks (*athar*) of Mecca and the most conspicuous events related to them. The first story is, of course, about the building of the Ka'ba by Adam. This method of transmission reminds us not only of the first biographies of the Prophet, but also of the far more widespread genre of *Hadith*, or Sayings of Muhammad, which were passed on orally from generation to generation, until they were eventually committed to writing by a learned editor. The most authoritative of these Hadith collections also date from the third century (ninth century CE).

From the time of the author to this manuscript, the text survived through half a millennium of laborious copying. Books which were much in demand were also copied during group sessions called *sama'* (hearing), in which a scholar dictated a text to his disciples. After having their newly made copy checked they received a written endorsement from their master. At the end of this undated manuscript two such sessions are mentioned: one in the house of Ibrahim ibn Ahmad al-Tabari, the imam of the Maqam Ibrahim (the Shafi'ite prayer leader of the Great Mosque in Mecca), dated 720 (1320 CE), and a second one 'opposite the Ka'ba behind the Maqam Ibrahim' dated 737 (1337 CE). The manuscript was snapped up in the mid-seventeenth century by Levinus Warner, the Dutch envoy in Istanbul.

The enduring popularity of this book is amply shown by a two-volume edition by Rushdi al-Salih Malhas (below), printed in Mecca at the Majidiyya printing establishment in 1352–1357 (1933–1938 CE). A copy of this edition was sent to the Netherlands by the Dutch envoy in Jeddah, Herman Henry Dingemans. [AV]

Azraqi 1933–1938; Sezgin 1967–...., I, 344


أخبار مكة
وما جاء فيها من الآثار
تأليف
أبي الوليد محمد بن عبد الله بن أحمد الأزرقي
الجزء الاول
طبعة جديدة
سنة ١٣٥٢ هجرية
صححها وعلق حواشيها ووضع فهارسها
رشدي الصالح ملحس
طبع على نفقة
المطبعة الماجدية و محمد سعيد عبد المقصود
المطبعة الماجدية
لأصحابها : محمد كامل كردي وإخوانه
بمكة المكرمة

Manuscript of *Kitab akhbar Makka*, by al-Azraqi, Mecca, before 720 (1320 CE), title page, 25.5x17 cm, Warner collection (1665). [UBL Or. 424]

Printed edition of *Kitab akhbar Makka*, by al-Azraqi, ed. Rushdi al-Salih Malhas, new impr., 2 vols, Mecca, 1352–1357 (1933–1938 CE), title page vol. I, 27x20 cm. [UBL Study Area I/3]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه اجمعين
اما بعد فيقول العبد الفقير خادم طلبة العلم بالمسجد الحرام كثير الذنوب والآثام
المرتجي من ربه الغفران احمد بن زيني دحلان غفر الله له ولوالديه ومشايخه والمسلمين
اجمعين قد سالني بعض من لا تسعني مخالفته ان الخص في كراريس من ولي امارة
مكة من زمن النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم الى وقتنا هذا ليسهل مراجعة ذلك عند الاحتياج
وان كان ذلك مذكورا في التواريخ الا انه منتشر في ضمن كثير من الوقايع والاخبار
لا يهتدي اليه من اراده الا بمشقة فجمعت هذه الكراريس ملخصا لما فيها من
التواريخ المعتمدة عند اهل العرفان مقتصرا على ما لا بد منه في البيان وسميته خلاصة
الكلام في بيان امراء البلد الحرام واعلم ان علم التاريخ علم يعرف به احوال الطوائف
الماضين وموضوعه اخبار السابقين وثمرته اعطاء كل ذي حق حقه واستصلاح
النفوس وتنبيهها واستكثارها من الاعمال الصالحة قال تعالى وكلا نقص عليك
من انباء الرسل ما نثبت به فؤادك قال حسان بن يزيد لم نستعن على دفع كذب الكذابين
بمثل التاريخ وحكي ان يهوديا اظهر كتابا ذكر فيه انه كتاب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم باسقاط الجزية
عن اهل خيبر وفيه شهادة جمع من الصحابة منهم علي ومعاوية وسعد بن معاذ رضي الله عنهم
فعرضوا ذلك على الحافظ ابي بكر الخطيب فتامله وقال هذا مزور فقيل له من اين علمت ذلك
قال فيه شهادة معاوية وهو اسلم يوم الفتح وكان الفتح في السنة الثامنة من الهجرة
وكان فتح خيبر في السنة السابعة وفيه شهادة سعد بن معاذ ومات سعد يوم بني
قريظة قبل خيبر بسنتين فاي منقبة اشرف من هذا قال الصفدي التاريخ للزمان
مرآة وتراجم العلماء للمشاركة والمشاهدة مرقاة واخبار الماضين لمن عاقر الهموم
ملهاة وانشد يقول

لولا الاحاديث ابقتها اوائلنا   من الندى والردى لم يعرف السمر

يقال

A Nineteenth-Century History of Mecca

The Meccan scholar Ahmad ibn Zayni Dahlan was born in 1817. Around 1848 he became a teacher at the Great Mosque and in 1871 he was appointed *Shaykh al-'Ulama'* or Grand Mufti. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje made his acquaintance shortly after his arrival in Mecca in February 1885, and with his usual touch of drama he described Dahlan as a chain-smoking 'nonagenarian' – though Dahlan was 69 when he died – and 'a mummy-like figure, a skeleton covered with a skin of brownish yellow parchment'. Dahlan cordially invited him to attend his lectures on Qur'anic exegesis and theology. This not only confirmed Snouck's status as a bona fide student of Islamic learning but also opened doors to him among Dahlan's many disciples.

Dahlan was one of the very few scholars in Mecca whose intellectual interests stretched beyond the horizon of religious studies. He is the author of, among others, a 'History of the Islamic Conquests' (*al-Futuhat al-Islamiyya*), published in Mecca in two volumes in 1884–1886 CE, and also a 'Compendium of the Rulers of the Holy City' (*Khulasat al-kalam fi bayan umara' al-Balad al-Haram*), a history of Mecca until the year 1301 (1884 CE). The last entry is on the Mahdist War in the Sudan and a victory of Osman Digna over the British at Suakin. Since the author was critical of the Ottoman authorities, he did not want to have his book published during his lifetime, and it was eventually printed in Cairo rather than Mecca in 1305 (1888 CE), well after the author's death in 1886 CE.

Snouck Hurgronje was in desperate need of this book for his own work *Mekka*, and by a stroke of luck he was able to procure a copy of the manuscript with the help of the Javanese Raden Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat, who was dragoman or interpreter at the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. The copy was finished by Shaykh Muhammad Sa'id al-Tubji on 15 Jumada I 1304 (9 February 1887 CE) for the substantial price of 700 piastres. [AV]

Snouck Hurgronje 1887; Snouck Hurgronje 1888–1889, I, xvi–xvii; Snouck Hurgronje 1941, 1–14; Freitag 2003


R. UNIV. BIBLIOTHEEK LEIDEN

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

الحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاة والسلام على سيدنا محمد وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين ﴿أما بعد﴾
فيقول العبد الفقير خادم طلبة العلم بالمسجد الحرام كثير الذنوب والآثام المرتجي من ربه
الغفران أحمد بن زيني دحلان غفر الله له ولوالديه ومشايخه ومحبيه والمسلمين أجمعين قد
سألني بعض من لا تسعني مخالفته أن ألخص في كراريس من ولي امارة مكة من زمن النبي صلى الله
عليه وسلم الى وقتنا هذا ليسهل مراجعة ذلك عند الاحتياج وان كان ذلك مذكورا في التواريخ
الا أنه منتشر في ضمن كثير من الوقائع والاخبار لا يهتدي اليه من أراده الا بمشقة فجمعت هذه
الكراريس ملخصا لما فيها من التواريخ المعتمدة عند أهل العرفان مقتصرا على ما لا بد منه في
البيان ﴿وسميته خلاصة الكلام في بيان أمراء البلد الحرام﴾ واعلم أن علم التاريخ علم يعرف به
أحوال الماضين وموضوعه أخبار السابقين وثمرته اعطاء كل ذي حق حقه واسترجاع النفوس
وتنبيهها واستكثارها من الاعمال الصالحة قال تعالى وكلا نقص عليك من أنباء الرسل ما نثبت به
فؤادك قال حسان بن زيد لم نستعن على دفع كذب الكذابين بمثل التاريخ ويحكى أن يهوديا أظهر
كتابا ذكر فيه أنه كتاب النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم باسقاط الجزية عن أهل خيبر وفيه شهادة جمع
من الصحابة منهم علي ومعاوية وسعد بن معاذ رضي الله عنهم فعرضوا ذلك على الحافظ أبي بكر
الخطيب فتأمله وقال هذا مزور فقيل له من أين علمت ذلك قال فيه شهادة معاوية وهو أسلم يوم
الفتح وكان الفتح في السنة الثامنة من الهجرة وكان فتح خيبر في السنة السابعة وفيه شهادة سعد بن
معاذ ومات سعد يوم بني قريظة قبل خيبر بسنتين فأي منقبة أشرف من هذا قال الصفدي التاريخ
للزمان مرآة وتراجم العلماء للمشاركة والمشاهدة مرقاة وأخبار الماضين لمن عاقره الهموم
ملهاه وأنشد

لولا الاحاديث أبقتها أوائلنا • من الندى والردى لم يعرف السمر

يقال

﴿بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم﴾
الحمد لله الذي جعل المسجد
الحرام حرما آمنا ومثابة
للناس وأمر بتطهير
الكعبة البيت الحرام
والعاكفين وأزال عنها
الخوف والباس وقيض
لعمارة حرمه الامين
أعظم الخلفاء والسلاطين
وأجلسهم على سرير
السعادة أكرم جلاس
نحمده على حصول المراد
ونشكره على الكرامة
والاسعاد بهذا الحرم
الشريف الذي سواء
العاكف فيه والباد
ونشهد أن لا اله الا الله
وحده لا شريك له البر
السلام ونشهد أن سيدنا
محمدا عبده ورسوله المنزل
عليه قد نرى تقلب وجهك
في السماء فلنولينك قبلة
ترضاها فول وجهك شطر
المسجد الحرام القائل من
بنى مسجدا لله ولو كمفحص
قطاة أو أصغر بنى الله له
بيتا في الجنة دار السلام
صلى الله عليه وعلى آله
الكرام وصحبه العظام
نجوم الهدى ومصابيح
الظلام ما طاف بالبيت
العتيق طائف واعتكف
بالمسجد الحرام عاكف
ووقف بعرفات والمشعر
الحرام واقف ﴿وبعد﴾
فلما وفقني الله تعالى لخدمة
العلم الشريف وجعلني

Manuscript of *Khulasat al-kalam fi bayan umara' al-Balad al-Haram*, by Ahmad ibn Zayni Dahlan, Mecca, copied 1304 (1887 CE), opening page (fol. 1b), 25.5x17.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1936). [UBL Or. 6977]

Printed edition of *Khulasat al-kalam fi bayan umara' al-Balad al-Haram*, by Ahmad ibn Zayni Dahlan, Cairo, al-Matba'a al-Khayriyya, 1305 (1888 CE), opening page (p. 2), 27.5x19.5 cm. [UBL 8205 A 16]



‘Awn al-Rafiq, Grand Sharif of Mecca

Ever since the turn of the thirteenth century a single dynasty of Sharifs, or descendants of the Prophet Muhammad, ruled over the Holy Places of Islam and an area of varying size around them, but invariably as vassals to an ulterior power. From 1517 onwards this was the Ottoman Empire, which let the Sharifs rule their territory as they saw fit, as long as they maintained some sort of public order in Mecca and Medina and kept the pilgrimage routes open. Rich annual subsidies from Istanbul and Egypt helped the Sharifs pay off the Bedouin tribes in order to prevent them from plundering the pilgrims’ caravans.

Grand Sharif ‘Awn al-Rafiq ibn Muhammad ibn ‘Abd al-Mu’in ruled from 1882 until his death in 1905. During this period tremendous political and social changes took place in Mecca. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, however, who met him in 1885, characterised him as a deeply entrenched conservative, locked in combat with a reform-minded Ottoman governor (see below, pp. 90-91). Western sources stress his venality and penchant for intrigue, and his ruthless extortion of the pilgrims. Yet he never neglected his basic duties, the upkeep of the two Great Mosques of Mecca and Medina and the maintenance of public security, which were the pillars of his authority. Moreover, he cannot very well be blamed for the Ottoman encroachment on his position as a semi-independent ruler.

This photograph, made in 1885 by Snouck Hurgronje or his associate Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar the doctor, shows ‘Awn al-Rafiq in his full regalia: a turban symbolising his descent from the Prophet, a stiff, gold brocaded robe of honour, a silk sash and a full range of medals. In daily life, however, he wore a simple, dark-coloured gown (*jubba*) and donned the headdress of the Bedouins when he rode out into the desert. An almost identical image was published by Snouck Hurgronje in his *Bilder-Atlas* (1888). [AV]

Snouck Hurgronje 1888–1889, I, 178–186; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 7; Ochsenwald 1984, 186–214; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 58–60

Photograph of ‘Awn al-Rafiq, Grand Sharif of Mecca, by C. Snouck Hurgronje or Sayyid ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, Mecca, 1885, 24x18 (33x24) cm, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.404: 23]



Osman Nuri Pasha, Reformer of the Hejaz

In the second half of the nineteenth century the Ottoman Empire started its final struggle for survival with the powers of Europe. The empire's only hope of success lay in the adoption of modern technology and methods of administration. The Ottomans had long been contented to leave the Hejaz to itself, but they now tried to impose direct rule. This proved to be extremely difficult in a remote province which had never paid taxes or rendered military service, and where the local rulers, the Sharifs, resisted any change in the status quo.

The military commander Osman ('Uthman) Nuri Pasha (1840–1898) came to Mecca in 1881 and had the Grand Sharif 'Abd al-Muttalib ibn Ghalib replaced by 'Awn al-Rafiq (see above, pp. 88-89). In 1882 Osman Nuri became governor of the Hejaz, and with unprecedented energy he set about modernising Mecca by introducing the most elementary instruments of modern government, such as a town hall, a police station, a council of representatives and a printing press. He restored the water supply from 'Ayn Zubayda, repaired the fortresses and built a new army barracks. The Meccans regarded these measures as just so many provocations and there were threats against the pasha's life. The Sharif appealed to Istanbul to have the governor removed; eventually, in 1886, this appeal met with success.

This photograph (left), published in the *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), was probably taken in 1885 by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. In his capacity as *Shaykh al-Haram* or intendant of the Great Mosque, the pasha is not wearing his regular European-style uniform but an Islamic gown with a paisley motif which is suggestive of Indian manufacture. In another plate in the *Bilder-Atlas* (below), ultimately based on a photograph by the Egyptian staff officer and surveyor Muhammad Sadiq Bey, the pasha is wearing the same ceremonial gown during the farewell ceremony of the Egyptian *mahmal* on 1 Muharram 1302 (10 October 1885 CE). In the background is the historic Banaja house. [AV]

Snouck Hurgronje 1888–1889, I, 176–189; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 5, 8; Ochsenwald 1984, 181–191; Süreyya 1996, IV, 1298–1299; Deringil 2003, 327–331; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 55, 57–58; Van der Wal 2011, 27; Vrolijk 2013

Photograph of Osman Nuri Pasha, probably by C. Snouck Hurgronje, Jeddah, 1885, 25x19 (33x24) cm, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.404: 21]

Toned lithograph of the Egyptian mahmal with Osman Nuri Pasha in the foreground, in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder-Atlas* (1888), plate 5, 18.5x23 (26.5x36) cm, detail. [UBL 21522 A 16]





26.

Die Hamîdîjah, von Othmân Pascha gebautes Regierungsgebäude in Mekka.

The Hamidiye Government Building

The most visible symbol of direct Ottoman rule was the Hamidiye (Arabic: Hamidiyya), the government building constructed during Osman Nuri Pasha's term of office (1882–1886), which housed the administration of Mecca and the Hejaz province. It was named for the reigning sultan, Abdülhamid II. The governor himself had his private residence near the southeastern corner of the Great Mosque, not far from the new Karakol or police station, another of his creations. The Hamidiye was situated opposite the southwestern corner of the Great Mosque, close to Bab al-Wida' (Farewell Gate) and immediately adjacent to the Egyptian Takkiyya or soup kitchen, itself a powerful symbol of (indirect) Ottoman charity to the pilgrims and the poor.

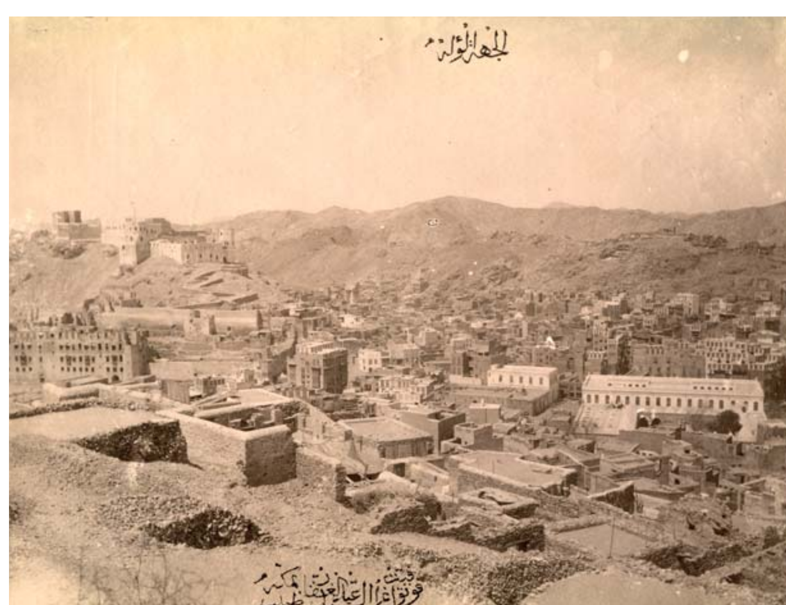
Though generally ascribed to Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar the doctor, the photograph on the left was most probably made by Muhammad Sadiq Bey in 1885. Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje first showed it at a lecture held in Berlin in 1887 and subsequently published it in the *Bilder-Atlas* (1888). The building seems to have come straight from Europe with its white plastered façade, elaborate neoclassical detail (note the Ionic capitals and the garlands above the windows), louvered shutters and cast-iron railing. With this splendid edifice in mind it is easy to understand that the people of Mecca were hardly able to distinguish the representatives of the sultan from meddlesome infidels.

Another picture, this time actually by 'Abd al-Ghaffar (below), shows the stark contrast between the Hamidiye and the surrounding urban landscape. The smaller white building behind it is the Government Printing Office (see below, pp. 114-117). On a hilltop on the far left is Fort Jiyad, again repaired by the pasha. Its purpose was not so much to protect Mecca against enemies from outside as to keep the city within the range of its cannon in case of disturbances. This image was printed in Snouck Hurgronje's *Bilder aus Mekka* (1889). [AV]

Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 4; Snouck Hurgronje 1889, plate 2; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 26, 28–34; Dördüncü 2006, 58–59; Eren & Sadawi 2013, 116–117; Vrolijk 2013, 208–209

Photograph of the Hamidiye government building, by Muhammad Sadiq Bey, Mecca, 1885, 15x18.5 (31.5x42) cm, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.404: 9]

Photographic panorama of Mecca (part of a set of 4), by Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar, c. 1888, with the Hamidiye and printing office, 21x27.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 J: 40]



بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

هذا منشورنا العام الى كافة اخواننا المسلمين

﴿ ربنا افتح بيننا وبين قومنا بالحق وانت خير الفاتحين ﴾

كل يعلم بأن اول من اعترف بالدولة العلية من حكام المسلمين وامرائهم امراء مكة المكرمه رغبة منهم فى جمع كلمة المسلمين وتمكينا لعرى جامعتهم لتمسك سلاطينها من (آل عثمان) العظام طاب ثراهم ، وجعل دار الخلد مثواهم ، بالعمل بكتاب الله وسنة رسوله صلوات الله عليه وتفانيهم فى انفاذ احكامهما ولنفس تلك الغايه السامية الرفيعة لا يزال الامراء المشار اليهم محافظين عليها فأني حملت بالعرب على العرب بذلك فى سنة ١٣٢٧ الف وثلاثمائة وسبعة وعشرين لفك حصار (ابها) محافظة لشرف الدولة ، وفى السنة التى اعقبتها جرت عين هذه الحركة تحت قيادة احد ابنائى الى غير ذلك مما هو فى هذا المعنى كما هو مشهود ومعهود الى ان نشأت فى الدولة جمعية الاتحاد وتوصلت الى قبض ادارتها وكافة شؤونها بما كانت نتيجته انتقاصها من الممالك ماقوض عظمتها مما عرفه افراد العالم وخصوصا بخوضهم بها غمرات الحروب الحاضره وايقاعهم اياها اليوم فى موقف الهلكة التى لا نحتاج لبيان

كل هذا لمحض غايات معلومة تأبى احساساتنا البحث فيها وتستدعى تفطر قلوب مسلمي المعمورة اسى وحزنا على دولة الاسلام وازيق مابقى من سكان ممالكها بلا تفريق بين مسلمهم وذميهم فريق منهم بالصلب وانواع الاعدام والآخر باجلائه عن وطنه على الصورة المعهودة والحالة المشهوده علاوة على ما اصيبوا به فى اموالهم وانفسهم من آفات الحروب ولاسيما هذه الاخيره التى كان للارض المقدسة منها النصيب الاعظم كما يعلم مختصرا من اضطرار العموم حتى الدرجة الثانية من الاهالى على بيع ابواب دورهم ودواليبها واخشاب سقفها بعد بيعهم لكافة موجوداتهم وذلك للحصول على سد الرمق كل هذا وكأن جمعية الاتحاد لم تره كافيا لغرضها كما يظهر من تجاوزها على اخلال الرابطة الوحيدة بين السلطنة السنية العثمانية وكافة مسلمي المعمورة الا وهي التمسك بالكتاب والسنة فقد وصفت احد صحفها الموسومة بالاجتهاد الصادرة فى دار السلطنة السنية سيرة صلوات الله عليه وسلامه بشر السير (لمثل الله العافيه) وهذا بمرأى ومسمع من وزير الدولة الاعظم وشيخ اسلامها وسائر علمائها ووزرائها واعيان رجالها وشفعت هذه الجرأة بنفوقوله تعالى ﴿ للذكر مثل حظ الانثيين ﴾ فساوتهما فى الميراث وعززتها بالطامة الكبرى وهي هدم احد اركان الاسلام الخمس وهو صوم رمضان بالامر بفطره على الجندى المقيم بالمدينة المنورة او مكة المكرمة او الشام مثلا بدعوى ان زميله الجندى الآخر يقاتل فى حدود الروس واختلقت لهذا اقاويل لمعارضة صراحة قوله تعالى ﴿ فمن كان منكم مريضا او على سفر ﴾ الى غير ذلك مما يمس باساسات الاسلاميه من الاوامر المشهورة صراحة احكام مرتكبيها بعد ان ضربت على يدي شوكة السلطان المعظم وسلبته حق حق الاقتدار على انتخاب رئيس كتاب (مابين) سلطنته الشريفة او رئيس خاصته المبجلة المنيفة فضلا عن النظر فى امور المسلمين ومصالح البلاد والعباد وما فى هذا من اسقاطهم لشروط الخلافة المطالبين بها المسلمين ووجوب البرائة منهم والحالة هذه مما لا مشاحة فيه ومع هذا فى زلنا تأول صحة هذه الجرأة هربا وحذرا من لسبة لهمة التفرقة وبواعث الاختلاف حتى ظهر الخفا وانكشف الغطاء واتضح بأن الدولة اصبحت فى يد انور باشا وجمال باشا وطلعت بك يحكمون فيها بما يشاؤون ويفعلون بها مايريدون وابسط دليل على صحة هذا ماورد اخيرا لقاضى محكمة مكة الشرعيه بأن لا يحكم الا بالشهادة التى تحررت فى محكمته وبين يديه ولا يلتفت للشهادة التى يكتبوا المسلمون فيما بينهم غير مبالين بما فى آية البقره هذا كله من جهة ومن الاخرى صلبهم فى آن واحد لواحد وعشرين رجلا من عظماء افاضل المسلمين وكبراء نوابغ العرب عدا من صلبوه من قبل وهم الامير عمر الجزائرى والامير عارف الشهابى وشفيق بيك المؤيد وشكرى بيك العسلى وعبد الوهاب وتوفيق بك البساط وعبد الحميد الزهراوى وعبد الغنى العريسى ورفاقهم المأسوف عليهم ولاريب انه يصعب حتى على ذوى القلوب القاسية ازهاق نفوس مثل هذا العدد فى آن واحد ولو كانوا من بهائم الانعام وهب انا التمسنا لهم عذرا واعتبرنا لهم مسوغا فى قتل هؤلاء الافاضل فما المسوغ لنفى عائلاتهم البئيسة البريئة من كل ذنب وفيها من الاطفال والشيوخ وربات الخدور من تنفطر لهم القلوب وتذهب الانفس حسرات عليهم واذاقتهم انواع العذاب فوق مافقد اجرعوه من سم المصيبة باتلاف عميدهم الذى خربت بفقده منازلهم والله تعالى يقول ﴿ ولا تزر وازرة وزر اخرى ﴾ واذا اعتبرنا لهذه مسوغا ايضا فالذى يسوغ لهم مصادرة املاكهم واموالهم التى يأوون اليها ويستعيشون بها بعد ان قضوا على عزيزهم وسلبوا من ايديهم اسباب عزهم واذا تعامينا عن هذا كله ايضا وقلنا ربما كان لهم مسوغ اليه فكيف يمكن ان ننتحل مسوغا لجرائتهم على قبر الامير البر والمجاهد التقى الزاهد مولانا الشريف عبد القادر الجزائرى الحسنى واهانته وتخفيره

هذا ما ابدوه من الاعمال ابيناه مختصرا ماويكن الحكم فيه للعالم الانسانى عموما والعالم الاسلامى خصوصا وحسبنا برهانا على ماتكنه صدورهم نحو الدين والعرب ومهم البيت العتيق الذى اضافته العزة الاحدية لذاتها السبحانية فى قوله تعالى ﴿ وطهر بيتى للطائفين ﴾ وهى قبلة المسلمين وكعبة الموحدين بقذائف من قنابل مدافعهم التى بحصن جياد اثناء قيام البلاد بالمطالبة باستقلالها وقعت احداها فوق الحجر الاسود بعلو ذراع ونصف والثانية تبعدعنه بمقدار ثلاثة اذرع التهبت بنارها استار البيت حتى هرع الالوف من المسلمين لاطفائها بالضجيج والنحيب واضطرهم الحال الى فتح باب البيت والصعود الى سطحه لتمكن من اطفاء اللهيب وما انتهى امرهم بهذا حتى عززوا الاثنين بثالثة فى مقام ابراهيم وهنا عدا ما وقع منها فى بقية المسجد الذى اتخذوه هدفهم الوحيد فى غالب مقذوفاتهم بالقنابل والرصاص ومازالوا يقتلون الثلاثة والاربعة فى نفس المسجد كل يوم حتى تعذر على العباد القرب من البيت وفى هذا من الاستخفاف والازدراء بالبيت وتعظيمه وحرمته مانترك القول والحكم فيه ايضا لعموم المسلمين فى مشارق الارض ومغاربها (نعم) نترك الحكم فى هذا الاستخفاف والازدراء للعالم الاسلامى ولكننا لانترك كياننا الدينى والقومى العوبة فى ايدى الاتحاديين وقد يسر الله تبارك وتعالى للبلاد نهضتها كما وفقها بحوله وقوته لاخذ استقلالها وتكليل مساعيها بالفوز والنجاح بعد ان ضربت على ايدى موظفيها و وجد حاميتها فاستقلت فعلا وانفصلت عن البلاد التى لم تزل ترن تحت سلطة المتغلبين من الاتحاديين انفصالا تاما مطلقا بكل معانى الاستقلال الذى لاتشوبه شائبة مداخلة اجنبيه ولا تحكم خارجى جعلت غايتها ومبادئها نصرة دين الاسلام والسعى لاعلاء شأن المسلمين وقائمة فى كل اعمالها على اساس احكام الشرع الشريف الذى لايكون لنا مرجع سواه ولا مستند الا اياه فى سائر الاحكام وكذا اصول القضاء وفروعه مع استعدادها لقبول كل ماينطبق على اصول الدين ويلايم شعائره من انواع فنون الترقى الحديث واسباب النهضة الصحيحة باذلة كل ما فى الجهد والطاقة لاعزاز العلم وتعميمه بين الناس على اختلاف الطبقات وعلى حسب الحاجة والاستعداد

هذا ماقد قمنا به لاداء الواجب الدينى علينا راجين من كافة اخواننا المسلمين فى مشارق الارض ومغاربها ان يؤدوا كذلك مايرونه واجبا لهم عليهم بالنسبة لتحكيم روابط الاخاء الاسلامى رافعين اكف الضراعة لرب الارباب ومتوسلين برسول الملك الوهاب ان يتولانا بالتوفيق ويمدنا بالهداية الى مافيه خير الاسلام والمسلمين والاعتماد على الله العلى الكبير وهو حسبنا ونعم النصير فى ٢٥ شعبان سنة ١٣٣٤

شريف مكة واميرها

الحسين بن على

ان المكتوب اعلاه اعلان من شريف مكة العظيم الذى يعرف اتصال نسبه بنسب رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم كل مسلم حقيقى فى جميع أنحاء العالم الاسلامى تقرر فيه استقلال الحجاز وحماية الدين الاسلامى



هذه صورة جلالة حسين بن على ملك الحجاز الذى أعلن فى مكة المكرمة استقلالها بالمنشور اعلاه

وحرر الارض المقدسة من سوء ادارة الاتراك وظلمهم فى الاحكام . والغاية من هذا الاعلان هى ايقاف كل مسلم على مايقوم به شريف مكة العظيم من خدمة الاسلام وحماية مكة والمدينة والامة العربية أجمع

Proclamation of the Arab Revolt, June 1916

Sharif al-Husayn ibn ‘Ali, a nephew of ‘Awn al-Rafiq, was born in Istanbul in 1853. In 1908 Sultan Abdülhamid II appointed him Sharif and emir of Mecca. Before long, however, it became apparent that the new Young Turk regime was even more hostile towards the traditional authority of the Sharif, who knew only too well that the new Hejaz railway was not only built to transport pilgrims but also Ottoman troops. The Young Turks pursued a rigorous policy of centralisation, combined with the ill-advised Turkification of the Arabs.

Although Husayn was far removed from circles of enlightened Arab nationalists in Egypt and Syria, he was nevertheless the first Arab leader to rise against the Ottoman Empire in the First World War. Under the close supervision of the British, and with their financial and material support, the Arab army forced the Ottomans to retreat and on 1 October 1918 occupied Damascus. Although the British had led Husayn to believe that he would become king of all the Arab provinces of the defunct empire, the Allies carved up the Middle East into mandates under European control.

As king of the Hejaz, Husayn faced insurmountable difficulties. With the discontinuation of the annual subsidies from Istanbul, he was forced to impose exorbitant taxes on a region which had always been poor. The security situation deteriorated rapidly when the Bedouin tribes could no longer be kept in check with bribes. As a ruler, Husayn lapsed into despotism and the Hejaz sank into chaos.

This poster, donated by the Utrecht professor Frederick de Jong, marks the beginning of the Arab Revolt with Sharif Husayn’s proclamation of Arab independence, dated 25 Sha’ban 1334 (27 June 1916 CE). Both the typography and the green art nouveau border suggest that it was printed by the British in Cairo, probably in 1917. The image of Husayn in the poster has become iconic, but only few people realise that the original photograph (below) was made in Jeddah in the presence of Ronald Storrs (1881–1955), Oriental Secretary to the British Agency in Cairo and one of the key players in Britain’s Middle East politics. [AV]

Snouck Hurgronje 1913, 41–50; Storrs 1937, 212–217; Dawn 1973, 75–86; Baker 1979, 108–109, 113, 116–119; De Jong 1980; Teitelbaum 2001, 104–105

Lithograph of the proclamation of Arab independence by Sharif Husayn, [Cairo], c. 1917, 99.5x74.5 cm, donated c. 1979 by Prof. Frederick de Jong, Utrecht. [UBL Or. 12.482 (1)]

Photograph of King Husayn and Ronald Storrs, Jeddah, 12 December 1916, in R. Storrs, *Orientations*, London, 1937, facing p. 213. [UBL 889 C 24]



AUTHOR WITH KING HUSAIN AT JEDDAH
December 12th 1916



السنة الاولى — ﴿ وتعاونوا على البر والتقوى ولاتعاونوا على الاثم والعدوان ﴾ — العدد الاول

بريد الحجاز

صاحب الامتياز والمدير المسؤل
محمد صالح نصيف

المراسلات
بعنوان ادارة جريدة «بريد الحجاز»
نمرة صندوق البريد «٥٧»
العنوان التلغرافى «البريد»

الاشتراكات
غروش ذهب
١٠٠ عن سنة فى جده والحجاز
١٥٠ فى سائر الاقطار
الاعلانات يخابر بشأنها
«الادارة»

جريدة سياسية يومية تصدر مرتين في الاسبوع موقتاً

جده الاربعاء في ٢٩ ربيع الثاني سنة ١٣٤٣ — ﴿ حب الوطن من الايمان ﴾ — الموافق ٢٦ نوفمبر سنة ١٩٢٤

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

﴿ وقل اعملوا فسيرى الله عملكم ورسوله والمؤمنون وستردون الى عالم الغيب والشهادة فينبئكم بما كنتم تعملون ﴾

« قرآن كريم »

ان الحوادث الجارية فى هذه الاقطار المقدسة لما يهم العالم اجمع الوقوف على حقائقها لما بين هذه البلاد وبين الامم الاسلامية من العلاقات الدينية وبين سائر الامم من العلاقات السياسية . ولما كانت الاخبار التى نشرت الى الآن فى الصحف السيارة بعيدة عن الحقيقة فى كثير من الامور لاستناد تلك الصحف فى نشرها على مصادر متعددة التى لاتخلو غالباً من الاغراض والغايات . ولما كان مثل هذه الروايات المختلفة تضلل الرأى العام البعيد عنا وتظهرنا له بمظاهر متعددة . رأينا ان الواجب الوطنى يحتم علينا اعلان حقيقتنا مجردة كما هي على صفحات جريدة حرة وتسجيل الحوادث الصحيحة انارة للأذهان وخدمة للحقيقة والتاريخ . ولما كان هذا العمل شاق يتطلب جهوداً عظيمة ومتاعب جمة ليكون عملا مفيداً مثمراً يعود على البلاد بالخير والنجاح فاننا سنسعى جهدنا ونبذل مافى وسعنا متكلين على الله وحده معتمدين على معاضدة العالم الاسلامى والعربي لاتمام هذا المشروع . والذى يؤملنا بنجاحه وجود مليكنا المحبوب العادل جلالة الملك «علي» على رأس هذه البلاد فقد صرح مراراً وتكراراً حفظه الله انه اذا قبل هذه المهمة فانه انما قبلها ارضاء لشعبه الامين المخلص الذى اجمع على مبايعته ودفاعاً عن البلاد ، ومحافظة على استقلالها ، وتأميناً لراحة الوافدين اليها ، والاخذ بناصر كل من يسعى لخيرها حقق الله الآمال .

اننا نصرح فى هذه الافتتاحية الاولى من هذه الصحيفة اننا احرار فيما ننشره لانراعى مصلحة خاصة الا مصلحة البلاد ، ولانتسامح مع اى كان اذا رأينا منه اعوجاجا ، واننا سننتقد كل عمل يصدر من اى شخص ينافى المصلحة العامة ولوكانت الحكومة نفسها كما واننا نصرح علناً بان لاعلاقة للحكومة بهذه الجريدة وبأشغالها وسياستها ولاتأثير لها عليها الا فيما يعود على البلاد بالخير والاصلاح وفيما سوى ذلك فانا ننتقدها ونظهر لها مواطن الخلل اتماماً للفائدة ومحافظة على المصلحة العامة ، خطة نعاهد الله عليها ولن نحيد عنها باذن الله .

ان مورد الجريدة الوحيد هو ما يجمع من الاشتراكات والاعلانات فقط دون ان تقبل اى مساعدة كانت من اى شخص كان لنتمتع بالحرية التامة اثناء سيرنا وجهادنا وقد جعلنا قيمة الاشتراك مائة قرش فى الحجاز ومائة وخمسين قرش فى سائر الاقطار ، وهي قيمة زهيدة نسبة للمصاريف الباهظة التى سنتكبدها فى بدء اعمالنا ، وقد قررنا اصدارها مرتين فى الاسبوع موقتا لحين وصول الادوات اللازمة ، ولن يطول العهد حتى ترى «البريد» بحلة غير حلتها الحاضره . اذ تراها كبيرة الحجم متعددة المباحث ناشرة اخبار العالم معتمدة فى ذلك على همة ومقدرة المراسلين الذى انتخبوا لمراسلتها فى سائر الاقطار اتماما للفائدة وارضاء للقراء الكرام متبعين فى ذلك سنة التحري . والله الهادى الى الطريق السوى .

«الادارة»

نداء

يؤلمنا وايم الله ما نراه من التطاحن والشقاق بين الامة الواحدة ويؤلمنا رؤية الدماء البريئة تسيل من اجسام ابناء الشعب الواحد . لامور كان من الممكن حلها بأسلم الطرق لو توفرت سلامة النية والقناعة بما لكل من الفريقين من الحقوق وما عليه من الواجبات . اما وقد شاءت التقادير ان تسل السيوف من اغمادها فلم يبق على المخلصين من مفكرى هذه الامة الا معالجة المسألة بروح العدل والانصاف وعسانا نصادف آذانا مصغية وقلوبا واعية فيحل السلم محل الخصام ويسود الاتفاق بدل الشقاق .

اما اولئك الذين ينفخون فى ضرام الفتنة ويشعلون نارها كلما سنحت لهم بارقة وامكنتهم الفرصة فيملؤن صفحات الجرائد السيارة وغير السيارة بالوقيعة بعد الوقيعة شفاء لما فى صدورهم من غل وحقد فلينفخوا ماارادوا وليثرثروا ما شاؤا فقد عرفت الامة مكانهم وتحققت خيانتهم وظهر لها سوء اعمالهم وخبث نياتهم حتى اصبحت لاتعبأ باقوالهم وترهاتهم وسيعلم اولئك اى منقلب ينقلبون .

والآن فلنضرب صفحا عن الماضى ونترك المرجفين وشأنهم ولننظر الى حاضرنا ومستقبلنا ولنتفاهم واخواننا على مايحفظ حقوقنا المتبادلة . ولنبن اتفاقا على اساس متين لاتؤثر فيه الايام ولاتضعضعه الحوادث

In the early twentieth century the young ʻAbd al-ʻAziz ibn ʻAbd al-Rahman Al Saʼud (1875–1953) managed to restore the fortunes of the Saudi dynasty. During the First World War he was wise enough not to alienate the Allies and in 1921 he was proclaimed sultan of Nejd. After a number of border incidents with the neighbouring Kingdom of the Hejaz, and especially after King Husayn had declared himself Caliph of all Islam in March 1924, ʻAbd al-ʻAziz decided to attack. The fall of Taʼif in September 1924 resulted in the death of hundreds of civilians, but the rest of the war was relatively bloodless. The British refused to intervene and in October 1924, shortly before the fall of Mecca, King Husayn abdicated and went into exile. He died in Amman in 1931. Husayn was succeeded by his son ʻAli ibn al-Husayn (1879–1935), who ruled over a rapidly shrinking kingdom. On 6 December 1924 Sultan ʻAbd al-ʻAziz laid siege to Jeddah, which held out for another year. On 8 January 1926 he was inaugurated as King of the Hejaz, thereby putting an end to seven centuries of almost uninterrupted dynastic rule over the Holy Places.

Between 1916 and 1924 there had been an official newspaper in Mecca, *al-Qibla*, which was edited by the Syrian-born Muhibb al-Din al-Khatib (1886–1969). It mostly reflected the personal views of King Husayn (below). After the abdication of Husayn and the fall of Mecca a new official journal started in Jeddah under the title *Barid al-Hijaz* or Hejaz Post (left). Its editor was Muhammad Salih Nasif (1892–1973), a pioneer of Saudi Arabian journalism and publishing. The paper pleaded for international support, stressing the plight of a nation under siege and vainly suggesting possibilities for a peaceful settlement with Sultan ʻAbd al-ʻAziz. The first issue appeared on 26 November 1924; the last number (56) was published on 13 December 1925, only a few days before King ʻAli's surrender to the new ruler.

After the capture of Mecca, the Saudis started a new paper in December 1924 called *Umm al-Qura* ('The Mother of Cities', an epithet of Mecca). It is still running as the official gazette of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. [AV]

al-Qibla 1916–1924; Barid al-Hijaz 1924–1925; Umm al-Qura 1924–….; Baker 1979, 182–183, 191–230; Maghribi 1981–1994, I, 276–286; al-Qash'ami 2010, 15–40

First issue of *Barid al-Hijaz*, ed. Muhammad Salih Nasif, Jeddah, 29 Rabi' al-Thani 1343 (26 November 1924), 41x29.5 cm. [UBL V 9265]



العدد ١٠٨ وما جعلنا القبلة التي كنت عليها الا لنعلم من يتبع الرسول ممن ينقلب على عقبيه السنة الثانية

القبلة

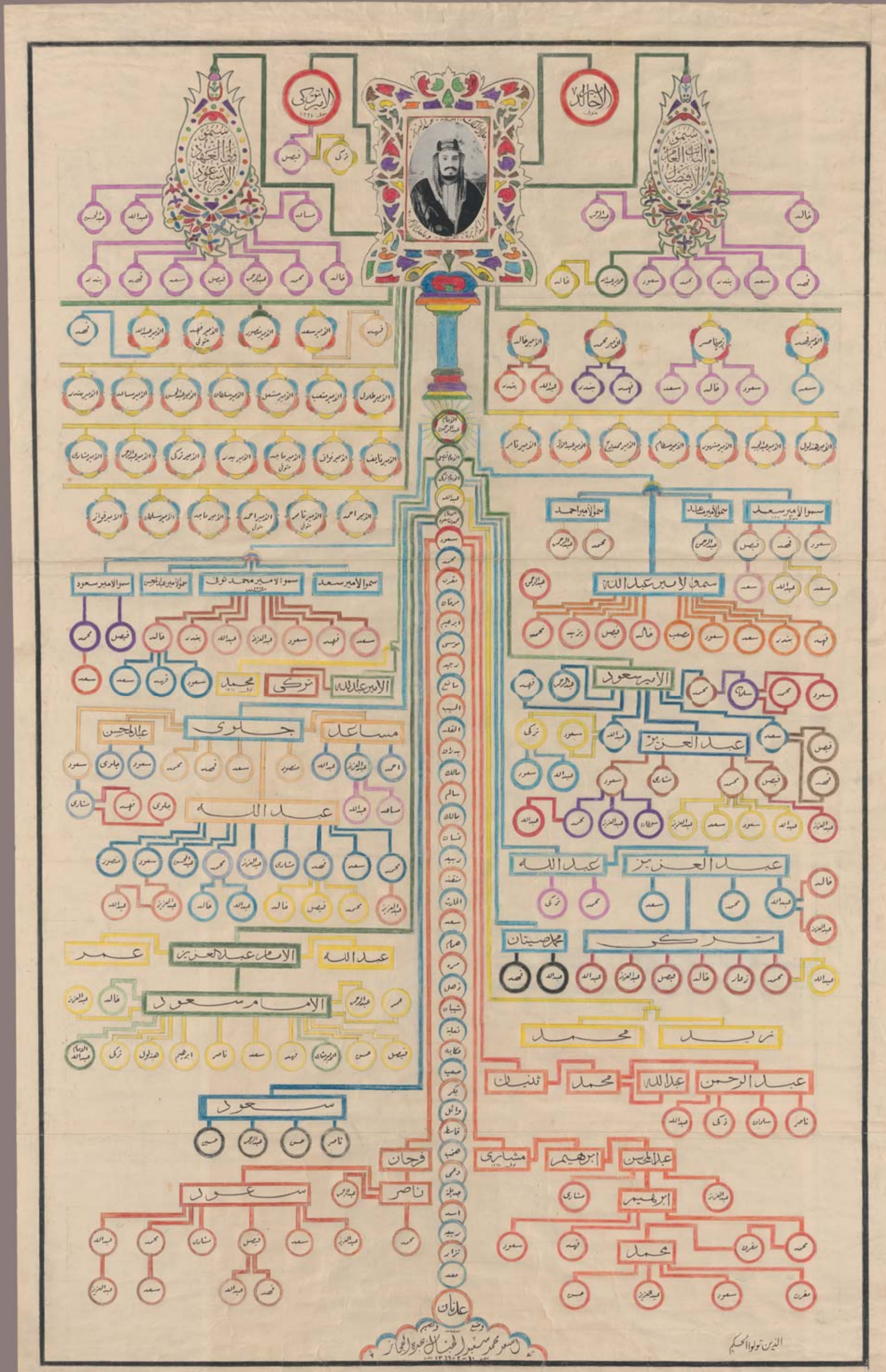
الرسائل
ترسل خالصة الاجرة
باسم مدير الجريدة المسؤول
محب الدين الخطيب
في المطبعة الاميرية بشعب جياد

الاشتراك
ريال مجيدي ونصف في الحجاز
وعشرة فرنكات في سائر الاقطار
وثمن النسخة ربع قرش
الاعلانات يتفق عليها مع ادارة الجريدة
العنوان التلغرافي (القبلة)

جريدة دينية سياسية اجتماعية تصدر مرتين في الاسبوع
لخدمة الاسلام والعرب

مكة المكرمة — يوم الخميس ١٢ ذي القعدة سنة ١٣٣٥

Header of *al-Qibla*, the official newspaper of the Kingdom of the Hejaz, published in Mecca, 1916–1924, 55x40 cm, detail. [UBL V 9620]


مساعد
جلوي
عبد الله
عبد العزيز
تركي
محمد
زيد
عبد الرحمن
ثنيان
عمر
سعود
فرحان
ناصر
مشاري
ابرهيم
عبد المحسن
الذين تولوا الحكم

A Genealogy of King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz

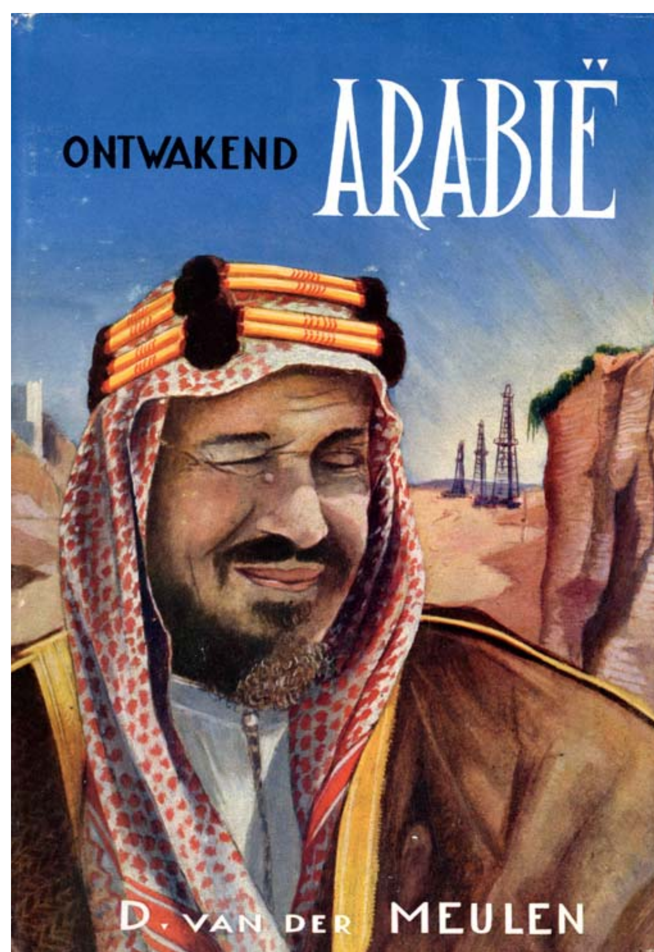
In 1932 King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz unified Nejd, the Hejaz and its dependencies into the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. He ruled until his death in 1953. Since then, six of his sons have ascended the throne. The present king, HM Salman ibn ‘Abd al-‘Aziz Al Sa’ud, was born in 1935.

Arabs from the Peninsula have always attached great importance to their *nasab* or genealogy and still continue to do so. This colourful genealogy was drawn in Jeddah by As’ad Muhammad Sa’id al-Habbal, who finished it on 10 Safar 1366 (3 January 1947 CE). The Dutch envoy in Jeddah, Herman Henry Dingemans, had been offered the original document for c. 500 Saudi riyals, but he settled for a less elaborate copy for 60 riyals and sent it to the Netherlands. The genealogical tree contains a portrait of a young ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, printed in Cairo, together with his male descendants, among whom 39 sons, and his ancestors. His many wives and daughters are excluded. Also, the genealogy gives the names of other descendants of his ancestors starting with Sa’ud ibn Muhammad ibn Muqrin, who died in 1725. The tree ultimately goes back to ‘Adnan, the legendary ancestor of the Arabs.

In their private and public correspondence, the Dutch diplomats who met King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz were unequivocally positive about his ability to restore order in Arabia – which was of vital importance to the Indonesian pilgrims under Dutch protection –, his statesmanship and quick sense of humour. The Dutch Chargé d’Affaires Daniël van der Meulen devoted a monograph to him, *Ontwakend Arabië* (Arabia Awakening), published in Amsterdam by H. Meulenhoff just before the king’s death in 1953. The jacket illustration, based on a photograph by Van der Meulen himself, is by J.J.C. van der Maas. [AV]

UBL Bibliotheek Archief 2, section A 18/4 (Min. BuZa 1947); Van der Meulen 1953; Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960–2009, XII, 3–4, s.v. ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (Winder); Dingemans 1973, 157

Manuscript of a genealogy of King ‘Abd al-‘Aziz, by As’ad Muhammad Sa’id al-Habbal, Jeddah, 1947, 153x97 cm, acquired 1947. [UBL Or. 8259]



Printed edition of *Ontwakend Arabië*, by D. van der Meulen, Amsterdam, H. Meulenhoff, 1953, jacket ill. by J.J.C. van der Maas, 23x15.5 cm, © Meulenhoff Boekerij, Amsterdam. [UBL 826 E 32]

ـم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه

ـتاب جمهرة العرب في الجاهليه والاسلا

ـول القران بالسنتهم واشتقت العربية من الفاظهم واتخذت الشواهـ

الحديث من اشعارهم واسندت الحكمة والاداب اليهم تاليف ابي زيد عـ

ـ القرشي وذلك انه لما لم يوجد احد من الشعرا بعدهم الا مضطر

ـلناس منو محاسن الفاظهم وهم اذ ذاك مكتفون عن سواهم لمعرفتـ

ـفهم فحول الشعرا الذين خاضوا بحره وبعد فيه شاوهم واتخذوا له

ـ فيه الفوايد عنهم ولولا ان الكلام مشترك لكانوا احازوه دون

5

Literary Culture

It would be a serious error to assume that the Holy Places of Islam have always been exclusively devoted to religious pursuits. In pre-Islamic times Mecca was very much a merchant city on the caravan route between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean. Indeed, the Prophet Muhammad was himself a merchant, and after Mecca's conversion to Islam trade has continued to flourish ever since. The lucrative Hajj industry attracted many entrepreneurs to the Hejaz, among them men of discernment and taste. The Holy Cities, situated at a convenient distance from the capital but fairly easy to reach with the annual pilgrims' caravans, gave shelter to poets, courtiers and officials who sought a comfortable escape from the exigencies of political life. Pious scholars came to Mecca and Medina to study or to die near the Holy Shrines.

In past times, the higher classes of Muslim societies received an education which far transcended the boundaries of their professions. The well-stocked private library of a merchant, religious scholar or Sharif could very well contain volumes of light verse or prose, as well as more solid works on history, travel, medicine and technology. And one should not forget that ever since pre-Islamic times there has been a strong local tradition of poetry in Arabia, both in the classical language and the vernacular.

In 1883 the first printing press was established in Mecca. Founded by the Ottoman government, it also accepted orders from private clients. Although its output was mainly dedicated to government circulars and religious works, it gave rise to many private presses in the region which would subsequently provide a platform for cultural and intellectual life in modern times.


بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
قرأنا على أبي أسامة رحمه الله قال امرؤ القيس بن حجر
الحارث الملك بن عمرو المقصور بن حجر آكل المرار الكندي
واختلف الناس في كنيته فقال قوم أبو زيد وقال قوم
أبو وهب والذي يعني من اسمه حندج والحندج
[illegible]

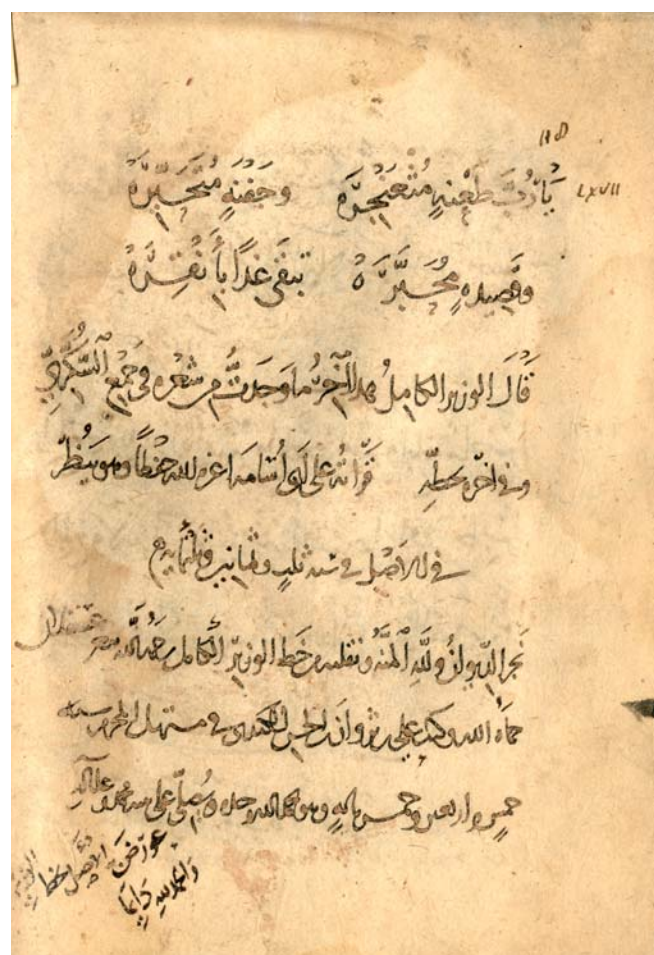
قفا نبك من ذكرى حبيب ومنزل بسقط اللوى بين الدخول فحومل
فتوضح فالمقراة لم يعف رسمها لما نسجتها من جنوب وشمأل
وقوفا بها صحبي علي مطيهم يقولون لا تهلك أسى وتجمل
وإن شفائي عبرة مهراقة فهل عند رسم دارس من معول
كدأبك من أم الحويرث قبلها وجارتها أم الرباب بمأسل
إذا قامتا تضوع المسك منهما نسيم الصبا جاءت بريا القرنفل
ففاضت دموع العين مني صبابة على النحر حتى بل دمعي محملي
ألا رب يوم لك منهن صالح ولا سيما يوم بدارة جلجل

Pre-Islamic Poetry by Imru' al-Qays

No Arabic poetry has ever appealed more to the imagination than the legacy of pre-Islamic Arabia, and among the few poets whose words have survived, in whatever form, none stands out like Imru' al-Qays. Living in a time when not only poetry but also history were preserved mainly orally, few hard facts are known about his life or work. He was presumably born around 526 CE as a prince of the house of Kinda, a nomadic Arab kingdom in Nejd. His youth was devoted to wine, women and song, but later in his life he would have mended his ways, seeking the isolation of the desert. When his father was murdered by rebellious tribes, he avenged himself and supposedly even travelled as far as Constantinople to solicit the help of the Byzantine emperor Justinian. He died before the age of forty. His poetry is a mirror of his life, with breathtaking descriptions of starlit nights in the desert, slender-waisted singing girls and the fever of revenge and warfare. He is credited with the invention of the *qasida*, a long monorhymed ode with a fixed structure, which invariably begins with the theme of the lonesome traveller who weeps over the traces of a deserted encampment. One of his poems is counted among the *Mu'allaqat* or Suspended Odes, the seven most famous Arabic poems of the pre-Islamic era.

His *Diwan* or collected poetry was reconstructed three centuries later; the best-known redaction is by the Abbasid philologist al-Hasan ibn al-Husayn al-Sukkari (827–888 CE). This manuscript was finished in Ashkelon, Palestine, on 1 Muharram 545 (7 May 1150 CE), but it was copied from a much older manuscript dated 383 (993 CE), which probably makes it the oldest extant witness of the text. [AV]

Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960–2009, III, 1176–1178, s.v. Imru' al-Kays (Boustany); Sezgin 1967, II, 122–126; Cooperson & Toorawa 2005, 212–224 (Makki)



Manuscript of *Diwan Imru' al-Qays*, dated 1 Muharram 545 (7 May 1150 CE), left: opening pages (pp. 2–3) and right: colophon (p. 118), 19.5x13 cm, Warner collection (1665). [UBL Or. 901 (1)]

١

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم وبه نستعين

هذا كتاب جمهرة العرب في الجاهلية والاسلام

الذين نزل القران بالسنتهم واشتقت العربية من الفاظهم واتخذت الشواهد في
معاني الحديث من اشعارهم واسندت الحكمة والاداب اليهم تاليف ابي زيد محمد بن ابي
الخطاب القرشي وذلك انه لما لم يوجد احد من الشعرا بعدهم الا مضطرا الى
الاختلاس من محاسن الفاظهم وهم اذ ذاك مكتفون عن سواهم لم نقتصر
ونبعد فهم فحول الشعرا الذين خاضوا بحره وبعد فيه شاوهم واتخذوا له ديوانا
كثرت فيه الفوايد عنهم ولولا ان الكلام مشترك لكانوا احازوه دون غيرهم
فاخذنا من اشعارهم اذ كانوا هم الاصل غررا هي العيون من اشعارهم وزمام
ديوانهم ونحن ذاكرون في كتابنا هذا ما جاءت به الاخبار المنقولة والاشعار المحفوظة
عنهم وما وافق القران من الفاظهم وما روي عن رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم
في الشعر والشعرا وما جا عن اصحابه والتابعين من بعدهم وما وصف به كل واحد منهم
ومن اول من قال الشعر وما حفظ عن الجن وما توفيقي الا بالله عليه توكلت واليه انيب

من ذلك ما حدثنا به المفضل بن محمد الضبي يرفعه الى عبد الله بن عباس
رضي الله عنهما قال قدم نافع بن الازرق الحروري الى ابن عباس يساله عن القران فقال
ابن عباس يا نافع القران كلام الله عز وجل خاطب به العرب على لسان افصحها فمن زعم
ان في القران غير العربية فقد افترى قال الله تعالى قرانا عربيا وقال بلسان عربي
مبين وقد علمنا ان اللسان لسان محمد صلى الله عليه وسلم وقال تعالى وما ارسلنا من رسول

الا

An Early Anthology of Arabic Poetry

This 'Anthology of the Poems of the Arabs before and during the Islamic Era' (*Jamharat ash'ar al-'Arab fi al-Jahiliyya wa-al-Islam*) is a collection of early Arabic poetry garnered by Abu Zayd Muhammad ibn Abi al-Khattab al-Qurashi, who appears to have lived in the second half of the ninth century CE. It contains 49 *qasidas* or long odes, divided into seven chapters of seven poems each. It is basically the expression of a learned Arab's national pride in his own language, for al-Qurashi argues not only that Arabic is the language of the Holy Qur'an, but also that the Arabic poetry of the ancients is used to explain the Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad (*Hadith*), and moreover, that Arabic is the language par excellence of science and literature. Quite naturally, the anthology begins with the *Mu'allaqa* or Suspended Ode of Imru' al-Qays, the sixth-century poet from Nejd (see above, pp. 102-103). In the ninth and tenth centuries CE, anthologies of 'pure' Arab poetry played a significant role in the cultural strife between Arabs and Persians in the Abbasid Empire, known as *shu'ubiyya*.

This manuscript from the Amin al-Madani collection is neither the best nor the oldest, but it is interesting because of its Meccan link. On the title page (below) there is a panegyrical poem composed by Mecca's Grand Mufti 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Abi Bakr Efendi. Together with a fine copy of the book – but not this particular manuscript – he offered the poem to the Sharif of Mecca, Mubarak ibn Ahmad ibn Zayd, who reigned briefly in the early 1720s CE. Judging from the provincial style of decoration, paper and script, the manuscript dates from the late eighteenth century. It has been asserted that it was used for the first edition, printed in Bulaq, Cairo, in 1311 (1893 CE), well after it had been sold to Leiden University. If true, this might have been arranged with the help of Carlo Landberg, the scholar who had mediated in the sale of the Madani collection to Leiden and who was consul of Sweden and Norway in Alexandria at the time. [AV]

Landberg 1883, 92–93, no. 310. Sezgin 1967, II, 56–57; Zaini 1969, I, 44–47, 88–92



Manuscript of *Jamharat ash'ar al-'Arab*, by Abu Zayd al-Qurashi, late 18th c., left: opening page (fol. 1b) and right: title page (fol. 1a), al-Madani collection (1883).
[UBL Or. 2676 (1)]



عيوف لأخلاق اللئام وهمه   وذو زور عما يقرب من زر
ونقص كف الدهر عمن اجاره   ويرعى من الآفات من حيث لا يدري

وقال ايضا يمدح الخصيب

لم تدر جارتنا ولا تدري   ان الملامة ربما تغري
هبت بلومك غير عاذرة   ولقد ترى لك واضح العذر
واستعبدت مصر وما بعدت   ارض يحل بها ابو نصر
ولقد وصلت بك الرجاء ولي   مندوحة لو شئت عن مصر
فيما اشافهه الملوك من الحور الحسان وعاتق الخمر
ومحدث كثرت ظرائفه   عان لدي لقلة الوفر
اني لآمل يا خصيب على   يدك السعادة آخر الدهر
وكذاك نعم السوق انت لمن   كسدت عليه تجارة الشعر
انت المبرز يوم سبقهم   ان الجواد بعرقه يجري
عرف الخليفة ان نعمته   حلت بساحة طيب النشر
فانفع بسيبك علة نزحت   بي عن بلادي وارتهن شكري

وقال ايضا يمدح الامين لما حبسه

تذكر امين الله والعهد يذكر   مقامي وانشاديك والناس حضر

ونثري

115

ونثري عليك الدر يا در هاشم   فيا من رأى درا على الدر ينثر
ابوك الذي لم يملك الارض مثله   وخالك عيسى صفوة متخير
وجدك مهدي الهدى   ابو امك الادنى ابو الفضل خير
وما مثل منصوريك منصور هاشم   ومنصور قحطان اذا عد مفخر
فمن ذا الذي يرمي بسهمك في الورى   وعبد مناف والداك وحمير
تحسنت الدنيا بحسن خليفة   هو البدر الا انه الدهر مسفر
مضت لي شهور منذ حبست ثلاثة   كأني قد اذنبت ما ليس يغفر
فان كنت لم اذنب ففيم حبستني   وان كنت ذا ذنب فعفوك اكبر

وقال ايضا

قد اصبح الملك بالمنى ظفرا   كأنما كان عاشقا قدرا
حير باشطانه الى ملك   ما عشق الملك قبله بشرا
حسبك وجه الامين من قمر   اذا طوى الليل دونه القمرا
خليفة يعتني بامته   وان اتته ذنوبها غفرا

المنحول اليه على هذه القافية

بنفسي من لا استطيع له هجرا   ولا استطيع الدهر عن ذكره صبرا

ومنه ايضا في العباس

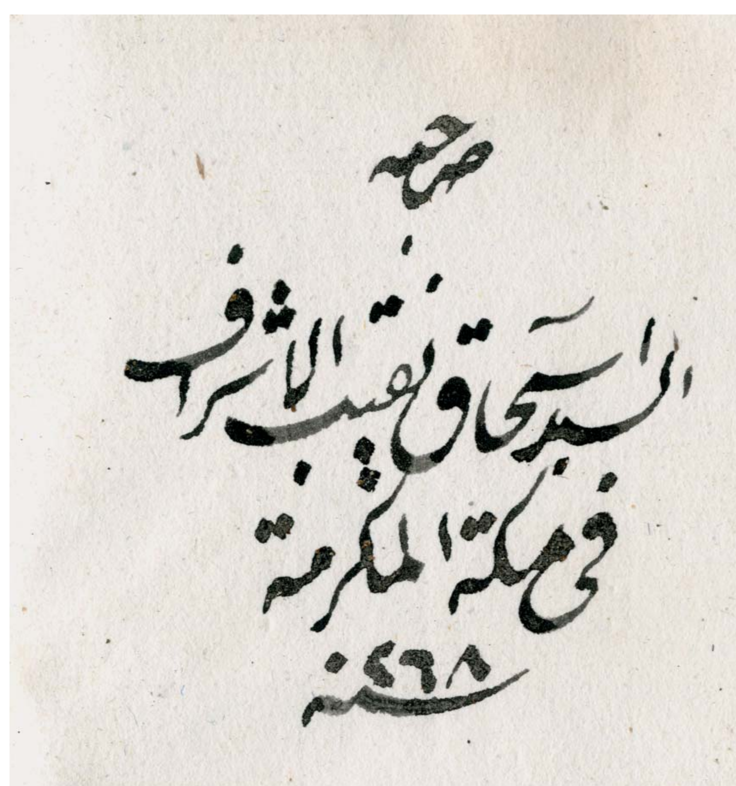
The Unruly Poet Abu Nuwas

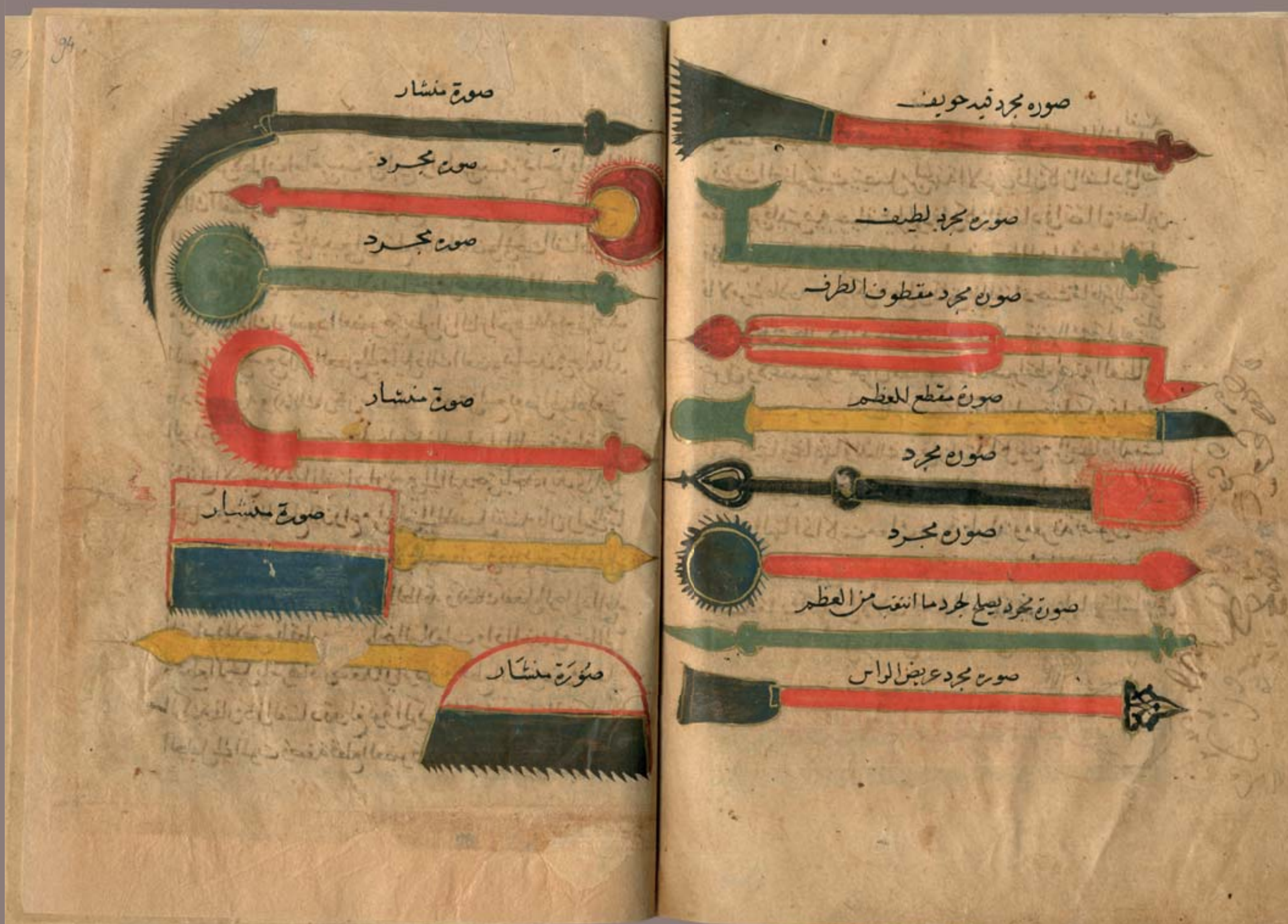
The soberness and frugality of early Islam gave way in the following centuries to the unsurpassed imperial splendour of the Umayyads and subsequently the Abbasids. Baghdad, the Abbasid capital, was the centre of a highly refined culture of mixed Persian and Arab origin. In this milieu we find Abu Nuwas al-Hasan ibn Hani' al-Hakami (c. 756–c. 815 CE), a modern poet who no longer wept over deserted encampments but over closed wineshops. Abu Nuwas, as he is usually known, was the drinking companion of the dissolute Caliph al-Amin. Nevertheless, even the caliph was outraged by the poet's conduct and had him incarcerated. Eventually, al-Amin was assassinated in 813 CE and Abu Nuwas died not long afterwards. He is best known for his wine poetry (*khamriyyat*) and love poetry (*ghazal*) dedicated to both girls and boys. In the Islamic world his utter brilliance as a poet has always outshone his doubtful morality, and his poetry circulated freely for private enjoyment until the early twentieth century.

His *Diwan* or collected poetry, the first of its kind to be divided according to subject, was edited about a century after his death by Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Yayhya al-Suli (880–946 CE). This manuscript from the Amin al-Madani collection was once in the private collection of a certain Sayyid Ishaq, who was the *Naqib al-Ashraf* (Marshal of the Sharifs) in Mecca. He was not the ruler of Mecca, but probably a dignitary who maintained discipline among the descendants of the Prophet Muhammad and kept a register of births and deaths of the sharifs. His ex libris at the end of the manuscript (below) bears the date [1]268 (1852 CE). The manuscript he possessed was once severely damaged, with many missing pages at the beginning and end, but it was restored and rebound with newly made replacement pages. This, if nothing else, shows how much importance was attached to Abu Nuwas's poetry in polite circles in the nineteenth century. [AV]

Landberg 1883, 92, no. 309; Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960–2009, I, 143–144, s.v. Abu Nuwas (Wagner); Sezgin 1967, II, 543–550; Schoeler 1990, 290–296; Kennedy 2005; Encyclopaedia of Islam (2007–....), s.v. Abu Nuwas (Wagner)

Manuscript of *Diwan Abi Nuwas*, by Abu Nuwas, partly 19th c., left: a panegyric to Caliph al-Amin written in prison (fols. 114b–115a), and right: ex libris (fol. 261b), 20x12 cm, al-Madani collection (1883). [UBL Or. 2675]





In the early Abbasid era Muslim scholars adopted the medical knowledge of the Greeks, pre-Islamic Persians and Indians. Not satisfied with merely preserving this knowledge, they brought it to a level of sophistication that was previously unknown in the world. In the medieval West, many Arabic texts were translated into Latin for dissemination among the recently established universities. In the late tenth century CE the Andalusian doctor Abu al-Qasim al-Zahrawi (died c. 1009 CE), known in the West as Abulcasis or Albucasis, wrote a work on surgery with the rather opaque title 'The Book of Empowerment of Those Who Cannot Write Themselves' (*Kitab al-tasrif li-man 'ajiza 'an al-ta'lif*). Much of it is based on the work of the Byzantine doctor Paul of Aegina, who lived in the first half of the seventh century CE. The book gained renown in the West after it had been translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona in the late twelfth century CE, and it remained influential until the eighteenth century.

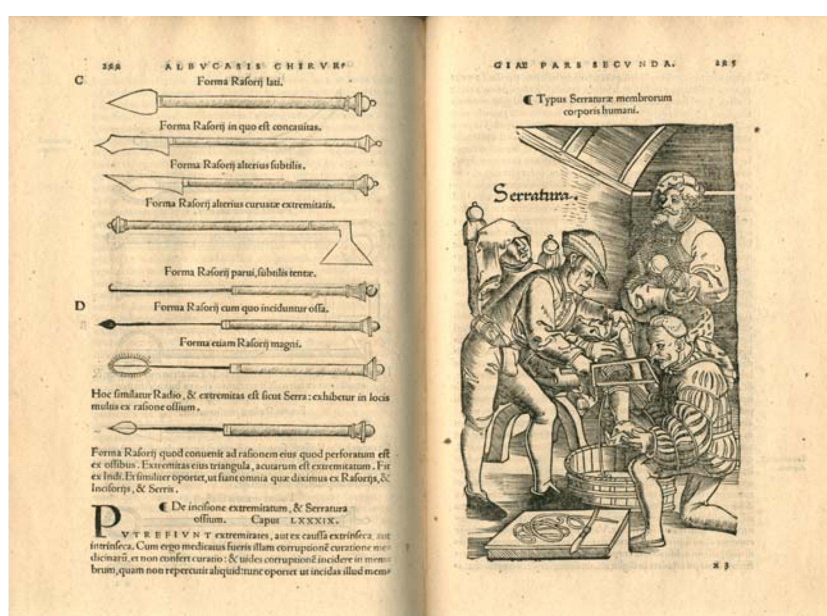
This fourteenth- or fifteenth-century manuscript from the Amin al-Madani collection, which contains only the tenth part (*maqala*) of the text, is enlivened by more than 100 detailed miniatures of surgical instruments, which are all the more impressive if one realises that the saws, scalpels and scrapers were applied without the use of anaesthesia. The presence of this book in the Madani collection suggests a sustained antiquarian interest in the medical heritage of Islam among scholars and book collectors in the Arab world.

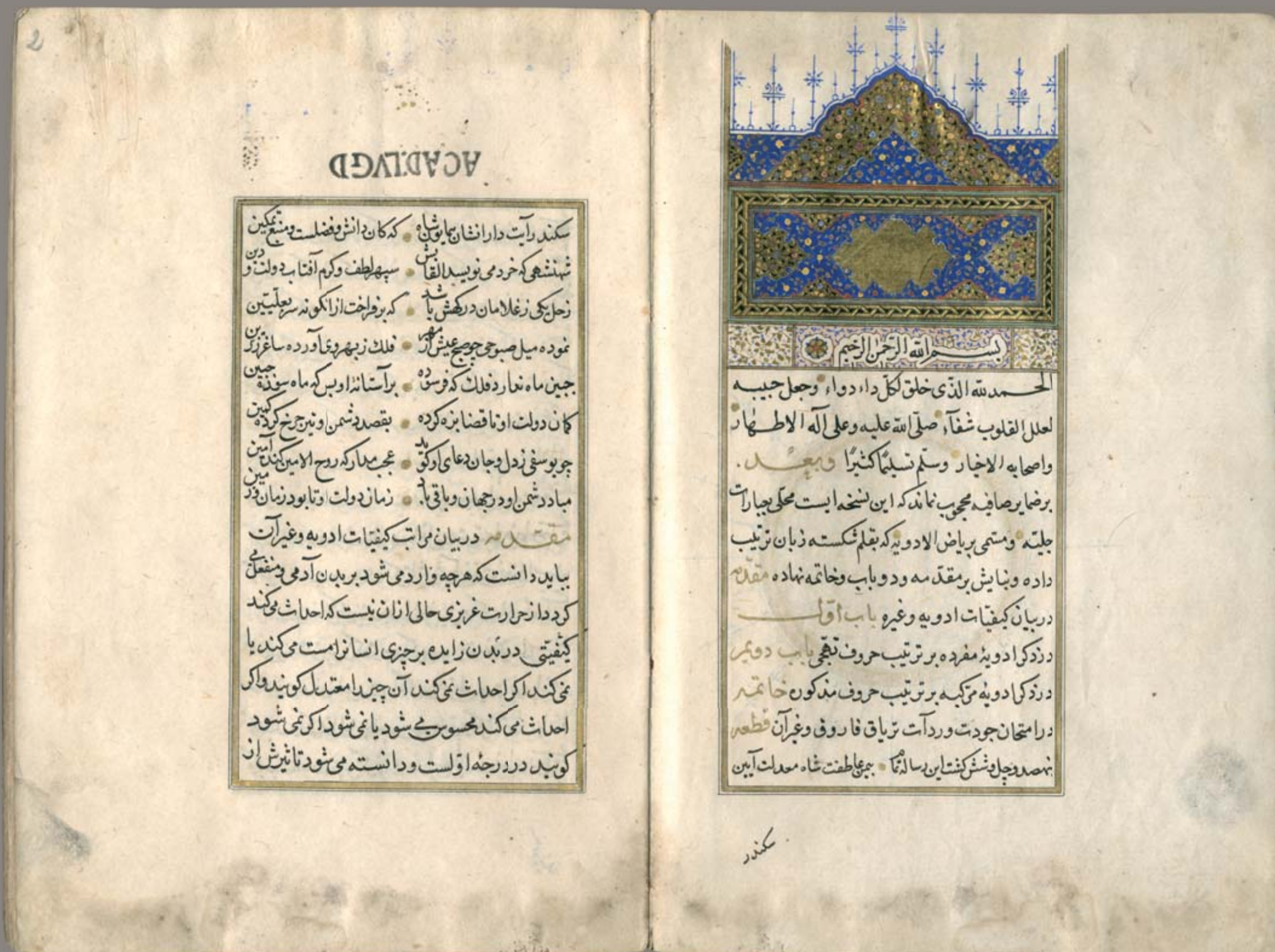
Almost identical medical instruments appear in a beautifully illustrated Latin edition of al-Zahrawi's work, published in 1532 by Johann Schott of Strasbourg. On the right-hand page is a rather gruesome engraving of a *serratura* or amputation, in which an unmoved doctor uses the same hacksaw as the one depicted on the left-hand page of the Arabic manuscript. [AV]

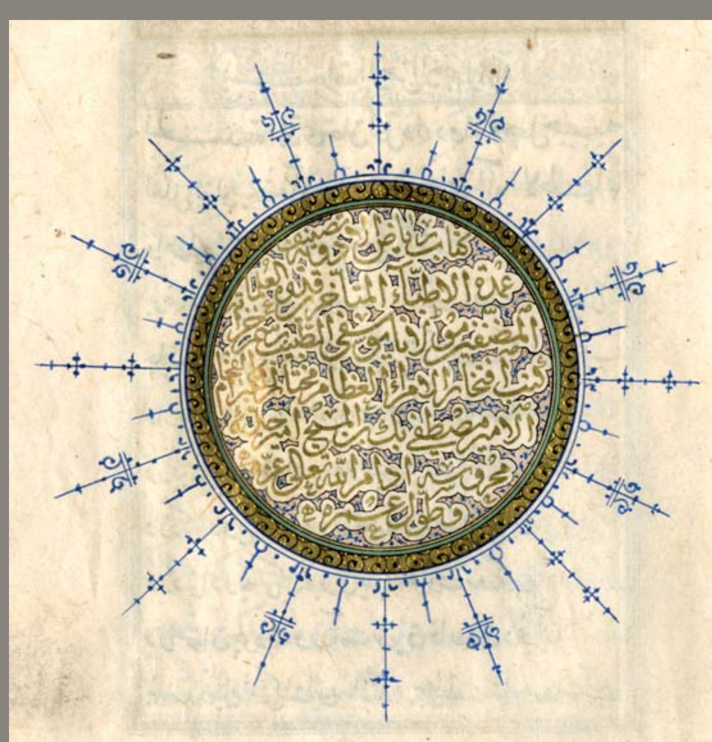
Landberg 1883, 44, no. 169; Sezgin 1967, III, 323; Goed Gezien 1987, 114, 120

Manuscript of *Kitab al-tasrif li-man 'ajiza 'an al-ta'lif*, by Abu al-Qasim al-Zahrawi, 14th–15th c., ills. of surgical instruments (fols. 93b–94a), 22x16.5 cm, al-Madani collection (1883). [UBL Or. 2540]

Printed edition of *Albucasis chirurgicorum omnium primarii Libri tres*, Strasbourg, Johann Schott, 1532, ills. of surgical instruments and an operation (pp. 244–245), 30x19.5 cm. [UBL 633 A 3]







A Luxury Manuscript on Medicine from Mecca

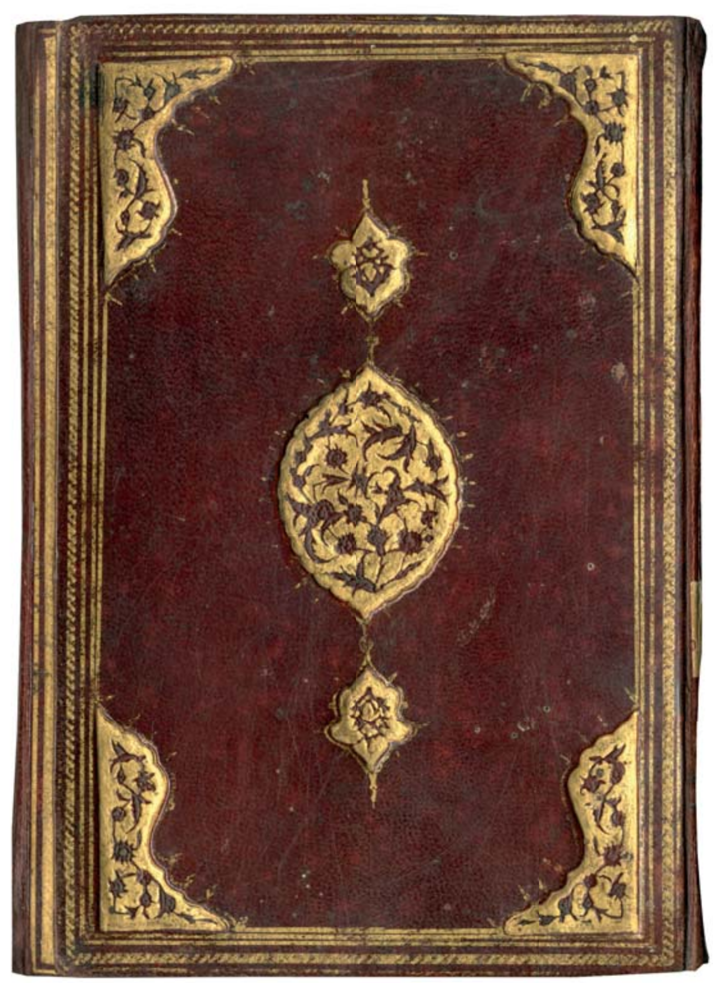
Riyad al-adwiya (The Gardens of Medicines) is a Persian-language pharmacopoeia or handbook of medicinal drugs composed in 1539–1540 by Yusuf ibn Muhammad Khurasani, known as Hakim Yusufi ('Dr Joseph'). The author, who spent most of his career in India, dedicated his work to the Mughal emperor Humayun.

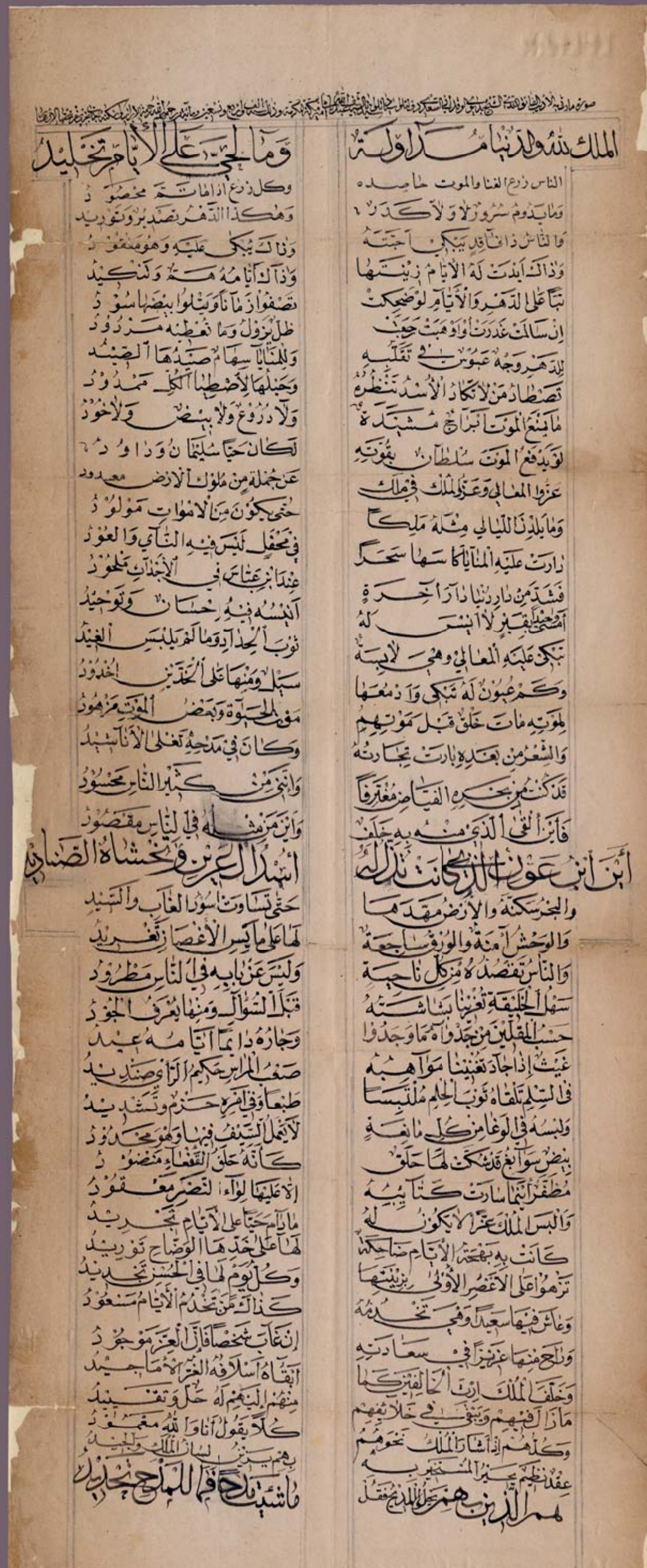
The calligraphed ex libris (left below) reveals that the manuscript once belonged to the private library of a certain Mustafa Bey ibn el-Mesih, who was the Ottoman emir of Jeddah, and it was evidently made for him. The manuscript was finished in Mecca on 26 Ramadan 988 (14 November 1580 CE). In this period the Hejaz province was administered from Jeddah by Ottoman officials appointed through the governor of Egypt, whilst the rule of the Holy Places and the interior was left in the hands of the local Arab Sharifs. Between 1574 and 1580 the governor of Egypt was the white eunuch Hadım Mesih Pasha, later briefly Grand Vizier. The emir of Jeddah was apparently called the 'son of Mesih', so we might be encouraged to assume a personal relation between the two, though perhaps not a filial one. As a high-ranking Ottoman official, Mustafa Bey would have been fluent in the three languages of the empire: Turkish, Arabic and Persian, and the Persian text of *Riyad al-adwiya* would therefore have presented no difficulties to him. The elegant manuscript is in the high Ottoman style of the late sixteenth century with its ex libris, the exquisite *serlavh* or illuminated opening page, and the red, full-leather binding with its tooled and gold-painted floral decoration (below).

It is quite possible that the craftsmen who could produce such a sophisticated manuscript were available in Mecca at the time, or they may have come along in the emir's retinue. In either case, the manuscript serves as an example of the Ottoman art of the book as one of the constituent elements of refined culture in Western Arabia. [AV]

Warner 1970, 74; Storey & De Blois 1927–...., II/2, 235, 240

Manuscript of *Riyad al-adwiya*, by Hakim Yusufi, 988 (1580 CE), left above: opening pages (fols. 1b–2a), left below: ex libris (fol. 1a), right: front cover, 21x14 cm, Warner collection (1665). [UBL Or. 691]





[illegible]

الملك لله والدنيا مداولة

الناس زرع الفنا والموت حاصده
وما يدوم سرور لا ولا كدر
والناس ذا فاقد يبكي أحبته
وذاك أبدت له الأيام زينتها
تبا على الدهر والأيام لو ضحكت
إن سالمت غدرت أو أوهبت حجبت
للدهر وجه عبوس في تقلبه
تصطاد من لا تكاد الأسد تنظره
ما يمنع الموت أبراج مشيدة
لو يدفع الموت سلطان بقوته
عزوا المعالي وعز الملك في ملك
وما يلذ الليالي مثله ملكا
دارت عليه المنايا كاسها سحرا
فشد من دار دنيا دار آخرة
أمسى وعند القبر لا أنيس له
تبكي عليه المعالي وهي لابسة
وكم عيون له تبكي وأدمعها
لموته مات خلق قبل موتهم
والشعر من بعده بارت تجارته
قد كنت من بحره الفياض مغترفا
فأين ألقى الذي منه به خلف

أين ابن عون الذي كانت تذلله

والبحر سكنه والأرض مهدها
والوحش آمنة والورق ساجعة
والناس تقصده من كل ناحية
سهل الخليقة تغرينا بشاشته
حسب المقلين من جدواه ما وجدوا
غيث إذا جاد تغنينا مواهبه
في السلم تلقاه ثوب الحلم ملتبسا
ولبسه في الوغا من كل مانعة
بيض سوابغ قد شكت لها حلق
مظفر أينما سارت كتائبه
والبس الملك عزا لا يكون له
كانت به بهجة الأيام ضاحكة
تزهو على الأعصر الأولى بزينتها
وعاش فيها سعيدا وهي تخدمه
وراح منها عزيزا في سعادته
وخلف الملك إرث الخافقين كما
ما زال فيهم ويبقى في خلائفهم
وكلهم إذ أشار الملك نحوهم
عقد نظيم بجيد المستجير به

هم الذين هم عقد المديح فقل

وما لحي على الأيام تخليد

وكل زرع إذا ما تم محصود
وهكذا الدهر تصدير وتوريد
وذاك يبكي عليه وهو مفقود
وذاك أيامه هم وتنكيد
تصفو إذا ما نأوا يتلو بيضها سود
ظل يزول وما نعطيه مردود
وللمنايا سهام صيدها الصيد
وحبلها لاصطياد الكل ممدود
ولا دروع ولا بيض ولا خوذ
لكان حيا سليمان وداود
عن جملة من ملوك الأرض معدود
حتى يكون من الأموات مولود
في محفل ليس فيه الناي والعود
عند ابن عباس في الأجداث ملحود
آنسه فيه إحسان وتوحيد
ثوب الحداد وما لم يلبس الغيد
سيل ومنها على الخدين أخدود
من الحيوة وبعض الموت مزهود
وكان في مدحه تغلى الأناشيد
وإنني من كثير الناس محسود
وأين من مثله في الناس مقصود

أسد العرين وتخشاه الصناديد

حتى تساوت أسود الغاب والسيد
لها على مايس الأغصان تغريد
وليس عن بابه في الناس مطرود
قبل السؤال ومنها يعرف الجود
وجاره دائما أيامه عيد
صعب المراس حكيم الرأي صنديد
طبعا وفي أمره حزم وتشديد
لا يعمل السيف فيها وهو مغمود
كأنه حلق القفعاء منضود
إلا عليها لواء النصر معقود
ما دام حيا على الأيام تجديد
لها على خدها الوضاح توريد
وكل يوم لها في الحسن تجديد
كذاك من تخدم الأيام مسعود
إن غاب شخصا فإن العز موجود
أبقاه أسلافه الغر الأماجيد
منهم إليهم له حل وتقييد
كلا يقول أنا والله مغمود
بهم يزين لسان الملك والجيد

ما شئت مدحا فهم للمدح تجديد

An Elegy on the Death of a Sharif

In the year 1294 (1877 CE) the poet al-Shaykh al-Bedêwi al-Waqdani al-Sa'di wrote a *qasida* or long monorhymed poem of 43 verses to commemorate the death of Sharif 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad (ruled 1858–1877 CE). Sharif 'Abdallah was described by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje as 'a sophisticated Arab aristocrat'. He ruled over the Hejaz in relatively quiet times and he appears to have enjoyed great popularity among his subjects. Although it was common practice to compose such poems to mourn the death of any ruler, Snouck Hurgronje insists that he had heard from countless people that the sentiments expressed in this particular poem were those of genuine bereavement. Snouck Hurgronje received a large and beautifully calligraphed copy of the elegy from his associate Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar the doctor in August 1887, and he was so impressed that he published it in his magnum opus *Mekka* (1888–1889 CE).

Poetry was used to celebrate many special occasions, solemn or festive. A manuscript in the Amin al-Madani collection contains a *qasida* of 83 verses, written by the Medinese scholar 'Abd al-Jalil Barrada al-Madani. It praises Sharif Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-Mu'in ibn 'Awn (ruled 1827–1851 and again 1856–1858 CE) after a successfully concluded punitive expedition against the southern region of 'Asir. The poem is written in the everyday cursive hand called *Ruq'a*, so it was presumably made for someone's personal use, perhaps by the author himself. No date is given, but incursions from 'Asir were endemic during his reign and Sharif Muhammad fought hard to push them back. Since the days of King 'Abd al-'Aziz, 'Asir is part of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, and the internecine wars are now but a distant memory. [AV]

Landberg 1883, 126, no. 423; Snouck Hurgronje 1888–1889, I, 159–166, 173, 226–228; Sui 2006, 59



Manuscript of an elegy on the death of Sharif 'Abdallah ibn Muhammad, by al-Shaykh al-Bedêwi al-Waqdani al-Sa'di, 1294 (1877 CE), 70x28.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1936). [UBL Or. 7057a (4) IV]

Manuscript of a *qasida* on an expedition against 'Asir, by 'Abd al-Jalil Barrada al-Madani, autograph?, between 1827–1858, opening pages (fol. 2a), 21.5x17.5 cm, al-Madani collection (1883). [UBL Or. 2784]





نومرو ٥٥١ ٩ جمادی الاول ١٣٣٢ جمعه ایرتسی ٢٣ مارت ١٣٣٠ سنه ٦

حجاز

١٣٢٦

شرائط اشتراك

The Beginnings of Printing in Mecca I

One of the many-sided activities of the Ottoman governor Osman Nuri Pasha was the establishment of a provincial government press (al-Matba'a al-Miriyya) with the purpose of bringing the Meccans more in step with modernity. It was the first of its kind ever to have been built in Western Arabia. Plate 6 in Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's *Bilder aus Mekka* (1889), based on a photograph by Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar the doctor, shows the building in all its stark neoclassicism. For all practical purposes it is the little brother of the adjacent Hamidiye government building (see above, pp. 92-93). Old Mecca is not far away, however, for the press is hemmed in by the rickety benches of a café, and in the foreground street urchins gape at the (invisible) photographer 'Abd al-Ghaffar and his camera.

The printing office opened in 1300 (1883 CE). The staff consisted of a director, 'Abd al-Ghani Efendi, and twenty employees. The heavy presses and types from Istanbul and Vienna were installed on the ground floor; on the upper floor the editors and proofreaders had their offices. Some years afterwards a lithographic press was added. Around 1302 (1885 CE) the press started publishing a *salname* or yearbook of the Hejaz province in Turkish and Arabic. Listing the provincial and local government authorities and services, both civilian and military, in their widest ramifications, the yearbook must have been a source of pride to the Ottomans. This is perhaps best illustrated by an elaborate heraldic device of the empire in the yearbook for 1309 (1892 CE), showing the sultan's *Tughra* or calligraphed monogram surrounded by a riot of flags, weapons and medals. There is also a pair of scales with books – possibly a Qur'an or a modern code of law – symbolising the equitable administration of justice. From 1908 the press also published *Hicaz* or *Hijaz*, the first newspaper in the area, in both Turkish and Arabic. [AV]

Salname 1303 (1886 CE), 65–66, 202–204; Snouck Hurgronje 1889, plate 6; Hicaz 1908–....; Ende 1975, 30–31

Collotype of the Ottoman government press in Mecca, based on a photograph by Sayyid 'Abd al-Ghaffar, in C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Bilder aus Mekka* (1889), plate 6, 16.5x23.5 (27x36.5) cm. [UBL 21522 A 17]

Hicaz / Hijaz, the first newspaper in the Arabian Peninsula, published from 1326 (1908 CE). [UBL 6813 B 6]



Heraldic device of the Ottoman Empire in *Salname-i Hicaz Vilayeti*, 1309 (1892 CE), p. 79, 19x12.5 cm, Murad V collection (1963). [UBL 2055 F 39]

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

اعلم أنه ينبغى لكل شارع فى فن أن يعرف مباديه العشرة المنظومة فى قول العلامة الصبان

ان مبادى كل فن عشرة ۞ الحد والموضوع ثم الثمره
وفضله ونسبة والواضع ۞ والاسم الاستمداد حكم الشارع
مسائل والبعض بالبعض اكتفى ۞ ومن درى الجميع حاز الشرفا

وقد نظمتها أيضا مع زيادة بقولى

مبادى فنون العلم عشرا يافتى ۞ ومنها على خلف مقدمة العلم
هى الحد والموضوع والفضل واسمه ۞ ونسبته والواضع الثابت العلم
وحكم له شرعا وفائدة زكت ۞ ومأخذه ثم المسائل للفهم

فأقول حد هذا الفن كما نقله العلامة الشلى عن شيخ الاسلام علم يعرف به أزمنة الايام والليالى وأحوالها أى الازمنة وموضوعه الكواكب والبروج من حيث سيرها كما قاله العلامة الابيارى فى سعود المطالع وفضله أن له شرفا عظيما من حيث انه يعرف به أوقات الاداء والقبلة المتعلقان بالصلوات التى هى أعظم أركان الاسلام وأفضل العبادات البدنية وغيرهما مما يذكر فى كتب هذا الفن من المقاصد كالماضى والباقى من النهار والليل وكمسئلة المتوارثين الآتية وغيرها ويستعان به على التفكر فى ملكوت السموات والارض وما اشتملتا عليه من العجائب وقد صح عنه صلى الله عليه وسلم انه رأى فى ليلة الاسراء هرجا ودخانا وأصواتا بين السماء والارض فقال لجبريل ماهذا فقال هذه الشياطين يحومون على أعين بنى آدم لئلا يتفكروا فى ملكوت السموات والارض ولولا ذلك لرأوا العجائب قال العلامة

The Beginnings of Printing in Mecca II

The Ottoman government press turned out to be a great success. It not only printed official papers and circulars, but also served as a commercial publisher which took orders from private customers. The *salname* or official yearbook for 1303 (1886 CE), only three years after the foundation of the press, listed an impressive number of 34 titles in Arabic, mostly on Islamic theology and law, but also some works on history, medicine and, perhaps surprisingly in the eyes of the modern reader, a popular handbook of sexual technique attributed to the Ottoman author Kemalpaşazade or Ibn Kamal Pasha (d. 1534 CE). In this capacity the government press laid the cornerstone for the establishment of privately owned presses in later decades, and thus made an essential contribution to cultural life in independent Arabia.

The government press maintained excellent relations with the Southeast Asian community in Mecca, the *Jawah*. It also employed two Malay proofreaders, Ahmad ibn Muhammad Zayn al-Fatani and Dawud ibn ʻAbdallah al-Fatani, both from Pattani in southern Thailand. By 1886 they had already produced twelve works in Malay. A fine example of sophisticated Arabic printing at the government press is a book from 1313 (1895 CE) by Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Khayyat (left). It contains a brief treatise on the elements of chronometry or the measurement of time, and a larger tract entitled *La'ali' al-tall al-nadiyya* (The Pearly Dewdrops) on trigonometry and astronomy. Though secular subjects in themselves, they helped to fix the direction of Mecca for prayer. Noteworthy are the many laudatory poems at the beginning of the book, composed as an endorsement by the most prominent scholars of Mecca. At the end of the book is a calligraphed printer's mark or logo of the government press with the date of its foundation, 1300 (1883 CE). Al-Khayyat, who travelled extensively in Southeast Asia, offered a copy of his book to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje on 27 Ramadan 1317 (19 January 1900), when he was visiting in Batavia (present-day Jakarta). [AV]

Salname 1303 (1886 CE), 65, 204; Khayyat 1895; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 286–287; Laffan 2003, 190

Printed edition of *Mabadi' fann al-miqat* and *La'ali' al-tall al-nadiyya*, by Muhammad ibn Yusuf al-Khayyat, Mecca, 1313 (1895 CE), left: opening page (p. 2), right: printer's mark (p. 55). Copy dedicated to C. Snouck Hurgronje, Batavia, 1317 (1900 CE), 27x20 cm. [UBL 8206 A 29]





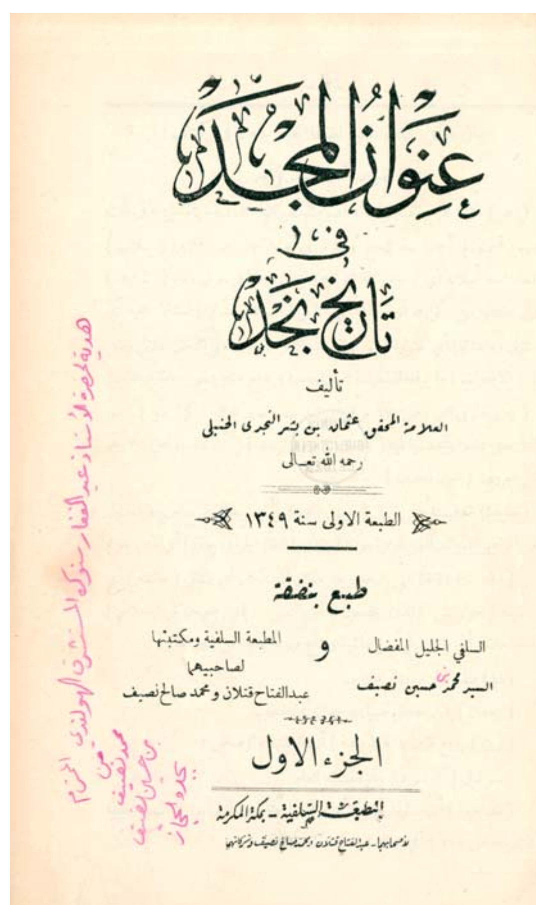
Muhammad Husayn Nasif (1885–1971) was a wealthy merchant from Jeddah who lived under three successive regimes and enjoyed the respect of all. He was renowned for his hospitality, not only to rulers such as King ʿAbd al-ʿAziz but also to stranded pilgrims. However, posterity will mostly remember him as a man of letters. Having received little formal education, he nevertheless acquired an extensive knowledge of Arabic literature and Islam. He was a bibliophile who assembled a sizeable collection of manuscripts and books, which is now in the University Library of Jeddah. Though a strictly orthodox Muslim, he kept an open mind towards everything that was going on in the world. As such, he maintained a lively correspondence with intellectuals abroad.

One of his correspondents was Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. Nasif was anxious to acquire Orientalist text editions from Europe, and Snouck Hurgronje obliged him by sending Brill publications from Leiden. In exchange, Nasif sent him recent publications from Arabia (see also above, p. 33). One such book, bearing a handwritten dedication, is ‘The Epitome of Glory on the History of Nejd’ (*ʿUnwan al-majd fi tarikh Najd*), by the Nejdi scholar ʿUthman ibn Bishr. It was published in 1349 (1930 CE) by the Salafiyya printing house in Mecca, which was partly owned by Nasif’s relative Muhammad Salih Nasif. Muhammad Husayn Nasif contributed towards the cost of printing. The book was very welcome, for until then only fragmentary information was available about Nejd and its history.

The Dutch diplomat Daniël van der Meulen met Nasif in 1926 and probably took this picture. Nasif, wearing his familiar round spectacles, is reclining on a bench in his own home (now a museum) with a book at his side and writing utensils on the windowsill behind him. The man standing next to him is his son. [AV]

Leiden, University Library, MS Or. 8952 A: 743–744, D: 109; Ibn Bishr 1930; Van der Meulen 1954, 41; Maghribi 1981–1994, I, 232–239, 276–286; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 120–122; Freitag forthc.

Photograph of Muhammad Husayn Nasif, probably by D. van der Meulen, Jeddah, 1926?, 8x11 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 C: 5]


عنوان المجد
في
تاريخ نجد
تأليف
العلامة المحقق عثمان بن بشر النجدي الحنبلي
رحمه الله تعالى
الطبعة الاولى سنة ١٣٤٩
طبع بنفقة
الساقي الجليل المفضال
السيد محمد حسين نصيف
و
المطبعة السلفية ومكتبتها
لصاحبيها
عبدالفتاح قتلان و محمد صالح نصيف
الجزء الاول
المطبعة السلفية - بمكة المكرمة

Printed edition of *ʿUnwan al-majd fi tarikh Najd*, by ʿUthman ibn Bishr, Mecca, al-Matbaʿa al-Salafiyya, 1349 (1930 CE), with dedication to C. Snouck Hurgronje, 24.5x16 cm. [UBL 894 B 27]



6

Public Life

In his book on daily life in Mecca in the latter part of the nineteenth century, Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje drew a vivid image of public celebrations, religious holidays and social pastimes in the city. On a daily basis, men received guests at home, met in the mosque and socialised in the coffeehouses scattered all over the town. Women observed street life from behind their balconies and received friends and family at home, gathered inside the Great Mosque and celebrated the anniversaries of saints or historical figures of early Islam such as the Prophet's wives in public areas. Music often added lustre to such social gatherings and feasts. Processions with song and drums drew attention to rites of passage, and celebrations then continued inside the home. Both men and women were active as musicians, and although women on the whole played for members of the same sex, there were also mixed bands that performed for pilgrims. Up to the age of eight to ten, children attended mixed schools and played together in the streets.

Late nineteenth-century Mecca and Jeddah boasted an international community, not only during Hajj season when pilgrims gathered from all over the world, but throughout the year. Both Meccans and foreigners worked as guides for pilgrims, arranging transport, housing and food and advising pilgrims on the religious rites. Foreign guides often worked for people of their own nationality: they had the advantage to intimately know the language and habits of their fellow countrymen. Some pilgrims stayed on in the Holy City for an extended period for higher education in the religious sciences, and the scholars who taught the many local students in the Great Mosque of Mecca came from all corners of the world too. Trade was also internationally oriented. The Western Arabian cities were home to merchants from various countries, who often resided there for generations and, while their businesses took root, they kept a link to their homelands from which they imported their wares. There was also a population of slaves from East and Central Africa working in Meccan and Jeddan households and in the building crafts.





Multi-storey Buildings in the Streets of Mecca and Jeddah

What is most striking in these three images of late nineteenth-century architecture in Mecca and Jeddah are the multiple-storey houses with projecting windows and balconies made of wood. The windows, called *rawashin*, were closed by shutters made of latticework, which allowed the ventilation of fresh air and held back the rays of the sun and insects (for a more detailed view of this latticework, see above, p. 62). When these shutters were open, blinds of intertwined thin reeds prevented people from looking inside. What these black-and-white photographs conceal is that the reeds were painted with bright colours. Colour was thus not restricted to the interior of the house, with its carpets, painted wooden furniture and drinking gear, or to people's dress. In 1925, the British traveller Eldon Rutter observed that instead of balconies, Meccan houses often had windows with wooden shutters that could slide up and down similar to those formerly used in train-carriage windows.

The two key building materials of these multi-storey houses were stone and wood. The extreme heat and dryness of Meccan summers caused the wood to shrink, resulting in open spaces between doorposts and doors, sometimes even as large as the width of a hand. On the whole, the stone used for the more prosperous houses in Mecca was dark grey, which was quarried from Shams Mountain. This material was also used for renovations in the Great Mosque of Mecca. In Jeddah, a favoured building material was coral stone, which was cut in blocks and then plastered and white-washed. Some observers complained about its blinding effect in the sun.

In Jeddah and Mecca these multi-storey buildings often accommodated more than ten families. During the Hajj season, many Meccans let out most of their rooms to pilgrims, and stowed their luggage away in the lower parts of the house. Each house had a terrace that was surrounded by a wall. At intervals the wall was interrupted by sets of bricks with openings between them, which allowed the circulation of air. Inside the more prosperous homes in late nineteenth-century Mecca, the floors of the rooms and the stairs were made of cement, whereas mats of palm leaves topped by carpets often covered the floors of older houses. [LM]

Ali Bey 1816, II, 95–96; Kruyt 1880, 340; Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 518, note 1; Snouck Hurgronje 1887a, 142–143; Rutter 1930, 139; Burckhardt 1968, 103–105; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 32–37, 84; Dingemans 1973, 112, plate 3; Dobrowolska 2005, 83–91; Wolfe 2013

Photograph of a woman walking with an umbrella in a street in Jeddah, by H.F. Tillema, 1927, 24.1x17.1 cm.
[UBL Or. 18.097 S 67.2: 29]

Photograph of a broad street in Jeddah with *rawashin* windows, late 19th. c, 20x26 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956).
[UBL Or. 12.288 J: 28]

Postcard with an image of a street in Mecca, c. 1920, 9x14 cm, sent by E. Gobée, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956).
[UBL Or. 12.288 K: 12]







Transport and Distribution of Water in Mecca

Eyewitnesses in the early nineteenth century observed various ways of distributing water in Mecca. According to Catalan explorer and traveller Ali Bey (1766–1818), in 1807 fresh water was brought on the back of camels from Mina and from neighbouring mountains. Mecca also had wells with brackish water, which was drunk by the lower classes. In 1814 Swiss traveller Burckhardt noticed that it was mostly used for cooking. In addition, he saw water stands in the streets of Mecca from which jars could be filled for a small fee. This charge was doubled during Hajj season.

According to Ibrahim Rif'at Pasha (1857–1935), who visited Mecca four times between 1901 and 1908 as head of the Egyptian Hajj caravan, there were, in addition to twenty public fountains, twenty cisterns in Mecca. The latter were between five and ten metres in diameter, and between two and thirteen metres deep, and were provided with water from 'Ayn Zubayda through a pipe system. Their Arab owners sold the water for a profit. Water carriers, mostly freed slaves, took it out in leather waterskins of about four litres each. The photograph (left below) shows how the sacks were strapped to the sides and stacked onto the back of the camel. The price of one camel load, comprising sixteen water skins, was approximately 0.80 Dutch guilders. This would be multiplied by four when water was scarce.

The leather water container and the brass water cup were sent to Leiden in 1892 by Dutch Consul Hendrik van der Houven van Oordt. According to him the leather container (left below) was used in the litters or *shuqdhuf*s of slow caravans that travelled between the Holy Cities and the Red Sea ports of Jeddah and Yanbu'. The brass water vessel (below) was attached to public water reservoirs and fountains with a chain through the hole in the rim. The inscription band on its neck, a benedictory phrase found on Islamic metalwork from the medieval period onwards, reads: 'To the owner good fortune, well-being and long-life as long as the pigeon coos'. [LM]

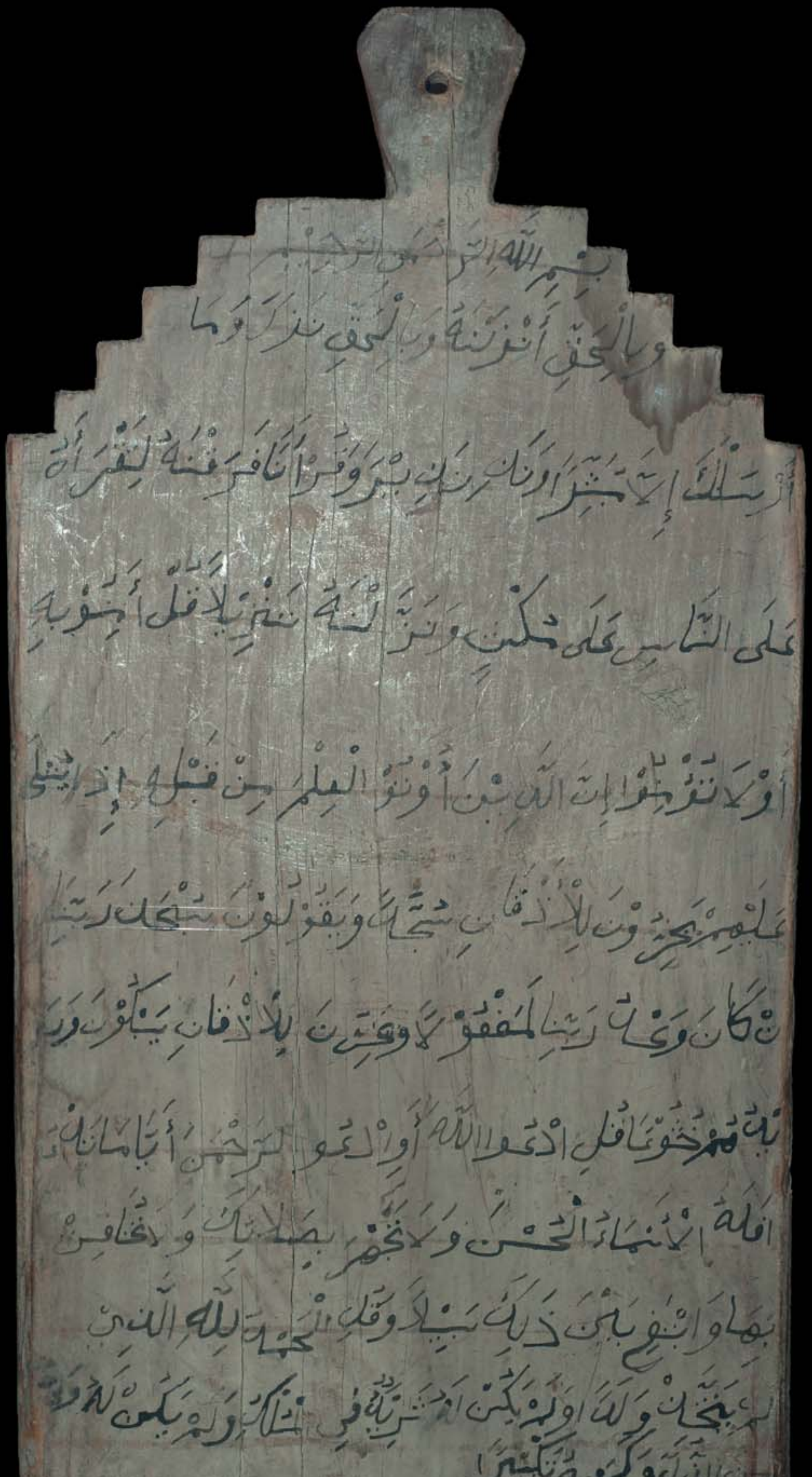
Ali Bey 1816, II, 98; Kruyt 1880, 341; Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 532; Van der Houven van Oordt, Jeddah, 5 March 1891, RMV Archive, series dossier RV-819; Rif'at 1925 I, 183–184; Burckhardt 1968, 106–108; Van der Wal 2011, 24, 26, fig. 14

Water container, leather, wood, iron, rope, before 1891, 41x16 cm, Van der Houven van Oordt collection (1891). [RMV RV-819-8]

Photograph of a freed slave with a camel laden with waterskins, by C. Snouck Hurgronje, Jeddah, 1884–1885, 20.5x27.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 N: 12]

Drinking vessel, brass, Mecca or Jeddah, before 1891, 9.3x10 cm, Van der Houven van Oordt collection (1891). [RMV RV-819-6]





بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم
وبالحق أنزلنه وبالحق نزل وما
أرسلنك إلا مبشرا ونذيرا وقرءانا فرقنه لتقرأه
على الناس على مكث ونزلنه تنزيلا قل ءامنوا به
أو لا تؤمنوا إن الذين أوتوا العلم من قبله إذا يتلى
عليهم يخرون للأذقان سجدا ويقولون سبحن ربنا إ
ن كان وعد ربنا لمفعولا ويخرون للأذقان يبكون ويز
يدهم خشوعا قل ادعوا الله أو ادعوا الرحمن أيا ما تد
عوا فله الأسماء الحسنى ولا تجهر بصلاتك ولا تخافت
بها وابتغ بين ذلك سبيلا وقل الحمد لله الذي
لم يتخذ ولدا ولم يكن له شريك في الملك ولم يكن له و
لي من الذل وكبره تكبيرا

This wooden writing board that was collected in the 1880s in Mecca contains the invocation 'In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful' followed by sura 17 (al-Isra', the Night Journey), verses 105–111. They tell of the revelation of the Qur'an and the Prophet Muhammad's role as Messenger of God. Writing mistakes, such as the repetition of parts of a word, the division of a word and the omission of a lengthening vowel, suggest that a pupil who still had to master the intricacies of the Arabic language was responsible for it. This type of writing board was used in Meccan Qur'anschools or *kuttab*s. When its surface was full, the text that was written with ink and a reed-pen was washed off with water and a sponge or rag.

All pupils had to memorise short sections of the Qur'an. Those who continued to learn the entire holy book by heart were given the honorary epithet *hafiz*. Students would recite the verses seated on the floor in a circle around the teacher, who would maintain order by way of voice and cane. Classes were mixed for young boys and girls up to the age of eight. After that girls were either kept at home or sent to a female teacher. Parents paid a weekly tuition fee on Thursday, and extra compensation during feast days. When a child had finished half or two-thirds of the Qur'an the *'azima* was celebrated: the child would carry his wooden writing board on the head in a finely woven cloth and, accompanied by his classmates in their best clothes, would parade through the city while an older pupil would recite the Qur'an or poems. Afterwards they would enjoy a meal at the child's home. This celebration was repeated when a boy could recite the entire Qur'an. Parents could also choose to pay for the private tuition of their children at home, if they preferred a more secluded life for them.

Besides Qur'an schools, there were also 43 boys' schools in 1885 in Mecca, where in addition to Qur'an recitation, the Arabic language, calculation and geometry were taught. [LM]

Rif'at 1925 I, 182–183; Rutter 1930, 369; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 114–116, 167; Snouck Hurgronje 1941, 3; Witkam 1985, 22, no. 27

Writing board, wood, ink, Jeddah or Mecca, before 1887, 40.8x21.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-140]



This lively impression of the souq in Jeddah shows men sitting on benches below their wooden lean-tos, while large barrels and wooden chests are positioned in the scalding heat. Shops were often located on the ground floor of multi-storey houses, and sometimes consisted of not more than a stone bench and a simple awning on a pole. The photograph with the legend 'Soukhs in Djedda' belongs to an album compiled by ear, nose and throat specialist Dr Dirk Gerrit Weigardus van Voorthuysen (1888–1942), who visited Jeddah in March 1926 on leave from his medical position in Indonesia on his way to Holland. In 1927 he sent the album full of lively scenes in Jeddah as a present to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje.

Both Jeddah and Mecca were home to local and international merchants and craftsmen. Among the locally manufactured objects were earthenware jars, wooden combs, fans from plaited palm leaves, and leather sandals. There were special markets for Bedouin produce and slaves. Customers who felt cheated could inform the market police, who took firm steps against perpetrators. Foreign traders often imported goods from their home regions. Syrian merchants dealt in silk, handkerchiefs and dried fruits from Damascus, while gold and silver thread and pistachios came from Aleppo. Indian shopkeepers bartered Indian-made rosaries, necklaces, fine cashmere shawls and perfumes. And besides swords, English watches and copies of the Qur'an, Turks also sold second-hand Turkish clothing of deceased pilgrims.

Merchants had other ways of bringing their wares to the attention of potential customers. Besides itinerant vendors who walked the streets of the cities, it was customary for shopkeepers in Mecca in 1926 to send out employees to show carpets, household articles, silk scarves and daggers to passersby and inform them of daily auctions. Prospective clients could make bids. Religious souvenirs such as rosaries, combs and teeth-cleaning twigs, which were partly produced locally, were also presented to pilgrims by dealers in the Great Mosque of Mecca. [LM]

Burton 1874, III, 55; Rutter 1930, 198–199; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 6, 70, 229; Burckhardt 1968, 117–121; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 122–129; Witkam 2007, 150

Photograph 'Soukhs in Djedda', by Dr D.G.W. van Voorthuysen, Jeddah, March 1926, 11x8 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956).
[UBL Or. 12.288 B: 18]



This photograph of an ambulant sweets seller was made in 1884 by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah. Among the sweetmeats sold by such vendors were roasted peas, favoured especially by women and taken as appetisers between meals. To bring them to the notice of prospective buyers they simply yelled: 'Hot peas, cooked in water'. Most peddlers customarily only mentioned the product, origin and price to advertise their wares.

Sweets were also taken for breakfast. Besides seasonal dishes made of dates, people ate small cookies dipped in sugar water, folded dough filled with a mixture of butter, eggs, cheese and sugar, and small pieces of bread coated with hot butter and honey. The latter were eaten with wooden spoons.

Certain religious occasions called for special sweets. To celebrate Eid al-Fitr at the end of Ramadan, Meccans invited guests at their homes, and presented them coffee with plates of sugared almonds, Turkish delight and mixed bonbons. They covered these plates with a fine cloth embroidered with gold thread. Also on the occasion of the birthday of the Prophet on the twelfth day of *Rabi' al-Awwal*, the third month of the Islamic calendar, Meccan confectioners made special sweets. When *mahmal*s were paraded through the quarters of Jeddah (see above, p. 67), covered platters filled with rock candy were distributed. Their lids, which were made of sugar, were engraved with Arabic well-wishes.

Hosts did not only present visitors sweets during the celebration of rites of passage but also offered them foodstuffs to take home. The well-to-do would give their guests a half pound of sweets in a small bag of red muslin after the tying of the marriage bond, the *mulka*. At less sumptuous mulkas guests would bring along their own cloth, which the hosts would fill with the twenty-centimetres long thin cylindrical sweets called *abnuta*. In similar fashion, this sweet was also presented to guests during a baby's naming celebration, seven days after its birth. In the case of death ceremonies guests were offered small round cakes only on the third night after death had occurred and after the recitation of the Qur'an. [LM]

Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 484, 486, 496; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 24b; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 46, 76, 111, 147; Witkam 2007, 68–69, 605, ill. 73

Photograph of a sweets seller in Jeddah ('Süssigkeitskrämer in Dschidda'), by C. Snouck Hurgronje, Jeddah, 1884, 15.5x10.5 (27x22) cm. [UBL Or. 26.404: 27a]





The ornately carved Meccan lute (left) was part of a batch of musical instruments that were collected in Mecca or Jeddah at the instigation of Snouck Hurgronje and that were sent to him by Vice-Consul Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs in June 1888. The instrument's neck lacks a fingerboard or frets and its sound chest even encompasses the hollow neck. It has no bridge tailpiece as is common on Western classical lutes.

In nineteenth-century Meccan society, family celebrations such as births, circumcisions and weddings, and certain religious festivities like feasts to commemorate the wives of the Prophet, were graced with music. Male and female musicians performed nonreligious songs to the accompaniment of drum and tambourine. Wind instruments like the flute and bagpipe, and stringed instruments such as the violin-like *kamanja* and lute were also played. During Qur'an recitation, the human voice was unaccompanied by instruments. This was also the case for the songs sung by cameleers to their herds, making their camels more agreeable and stimulating them to cover great distances.

In the foreground of the photograph below lute-player Sayyid Muhammad is seated in a carpeted room in the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, holding his lute high up near the recording horn of the phonograph in front of him. Dutch Envoy Nicolaas Scheltema, consul between 1905 and 1911, had gone to considerable lengths to invite him for a recording session with the Edison sound recording and playing device. The latter had been sent by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje to the Consulate with instructions to record religious and profane music, and street sounds like the call to prayer (*adhan*) and the shouts of vendors. Eventually, about twenty hours of sounds were recorded under the supervision of Consul Scheltema, shipping agent Muhammad Jamal Taj al-Din and dragoman Haji Agus Salim on wax cylinders, c. 355 of which are now housed in Leiden University Library, along with the original phonograph [UBL Or. 27.131, UBL Or. 27.130] (see p. 14, Plate 13).

Meccan Mufti Sayyid Ahmad Dahlan was asked to issue fatwas about the use of recording devices for Qur'an recitations. People wanted to know for example whether the number of heavenly rewards that would be bestowed upon the reciter corresponded with the number of times his recital was reproduced by the playing device. Fatwas about the permissibility of new technologies such as the phonograph for religious purposes were also issued by the Indonesian Mufti Sayyid 'Uthman (1822–1914) and Sayyid Husayn al-Jisr, the contemporary Mufti of Tripoli. [LM]

Letter Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Chijs, Or. 8952 L 4.32, 3 June 1888; Snouck Hurgronje 1900, 410–427; Khan & Sparroy 1905, 106, 199–200; Farmer 1929, 490–493; Rutter 1930, 389; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 49, 110, 113–114; Snouck Hurgronje 1941, 8; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 108–110, plate 36; Vrolijk & Van de Velde 2007, 92–98; Van Oostrum 2012; Vrolijk & Van Leeuwen 2014, 134–135, 146–147; Urkevich 2015, 19–20, 219–221; Van Oostrum 2016; Van Oostrum forthc.

Lute, wood, animal skin and gut, before 1888, 99x22.8x13 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-25]

Photograph of a musical recording session in the Dutch Consulate, Jeddah, February 1908, 9x14 cm. [UBL Or. 26.365: 44]







Drums and rattling girdles of goat's hoofs like the two instruments depicted here were played in late nineteenth-century *tunbura* orchestras. Such bands were named after the large six-stringed lyre with extravagant decorative feathers, played by the musician in the centre of the photograph below. A better-known lithograph of such a group was published in Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's *Bilder-Atlas zu Mekka.* That image was based on a series of studio photographs, which were unusable as on each image one of the musicians had moved. Tunbura orchestras usually performed in the open air from Thursday afternoon to Friday morning. Three or four slaves of African descent played the drums, while the man wearing the girdle made rattling sounds by dancing and shaking his body. In a circle formed by the audience two or more slaves would dance and perform a mock fight with sticks. The crowd would sing a repetitive monotonous song for hours that could bring those present in a trance.

Drums were also played to celebrate rites of passage, and to grace festive religious occasions. During the month of Ramadan musicians roamed the streets an hour before sunrise and beat their drums in front of the houses of the well-to-do, warning the occupants to rise. When the fasting month came to an end, they received compensation for this. Drummers also hauled in boys or girls returning to Mecca from their first visit to the Great Mosque of Medina and the Prophet's grave. They accompanied them from the edge of town to their house. Sometimes questions were raised as to the permissibility of the use of drums, for example during the remembrance of the Birthday of the Prophet. Sayyid Ahmad Dahlan, Mecca's most prominent mufti in 1885, argued that it was acceptable if nothing unlawful happened.

The drum shells in the collection of Museum Volkenkunde show a pragmatic and economic re-use of objects. A good example is the hollowed-out tree trunk shown left above. Other shells consist of a wooden and a steel petroleum barrel.
[LM]

Letter Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Chijs, Leiden, 22 November 1887, UBL Or. 8952 L 4:30 and 3 June 1888, UBL Or. 8952 L 4:32; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 18; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 11–12, 68; Kaptein 1996, 79–80, 198; Vrolijk & Van de Velde 2007, 95, 97–98, plate 44; Witkam 2007, 602, ill. 67; Van Oostrum 2012, 132–133; Urkevich 2015, 201–202, ill. 10.14

Drum, wood, animal skin, before 1889, 39x34.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-38]

Rattle skirt, wool, goat's hooves, before 1898, 86x36.5 cm, Spakler collection (1897). [RMV RV-1117-1]

Photograph of *tunbura* orchestra, Jeddah?, by N. Scheltema, c. 1910, 9x14 cm, [UBL Or. 26.365: 48]





Celebrating the End of Ramadan

Although the Feast of Sacrifice during the pilgrimage season in the month of *Dhu al-Hijja* is the most important holiday in Islam, the Lesser Feast at the end of the month of Ramadan is often celebrated with more enthusiasm. In the hot climate of Arabia the fast of Ramadan can be a heavy burden, and the end of the month is usually welcomed with great relief. Especially the children have something to look forward to: in most Islamic countries they receive new clothes, sweets and toys. Therefore, the little boy with the shaved head in this picture has ample reason to perform a dance. The children sing a – not very pious – song: ‘Ramadan mat, mat, yallah isqini’ (Ramadan is dead, dead; come on, pour me a drink!). The photograph was made in an alley in front of a café in Jeddah.

The handwriting on the reverse shows that the picture was taken by Consul Charles Olke van der Plas (1891–1977), who served in Jeddah from 1921 until 1926, when he was replaced by Daniël van der Meulen. The photograph was most likely taken before August 1924, when war broke out between King Husayn of the Hejaz and Sultan ‘Abd al-‘Aziz of Nejd. And because of the overall frivolity of the scene, the photograph is highly unlikely to have been made after the Saudi takeover of Jeddah in December 1925. [AV]

Oostdam 2004a, 31–32

Photograph of a dancing boy, Jeddah, by C.O. van der Plas, c. 1921–1924, 10x8.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 M: 39]



7

Dress and Animal Trappings

If the nineteenth-century visitors' accounts of Arabia contain references to dress at all, they are mostly generic. Besides a disinterest in the subject, this dearth of detail might be explained by the fact that women's outfits were simply invisible to men as they were hidden under overgarments in public. An exception is the observations of female traveller Lady Ann Blunt (1837–1917), who on her travels to Nejd, a neighbouring region of the Hejaz, was invited to the women's section of the palace of Emir Muhammad ibn ʻAbdallah (r. 1869–1897). There she noticed the contrast between the ordinary dress of Bedouin women, usually plain black or dark-blue cotton or woollen cloths often lined with a narrow red border, and the lavish brocade of the dresses and sumptuous golden jewellery of elite women. The lack of more detailed information is all the more regrettable as clothing and jewellery are, besides a reflection of personal taste, an expression of social and religious identity.

Some of the raw materials for clothing were locally sourced. Besides camel's hair and wool, natural plant dyes such as pomegranates were used. Although cotton was grown in the central and eastern regions, in 1879 it constituted the largest non-domestic commodity in Jeddah. It was imported from England, as were mousseline and linen, which also came from Syria and Asia Minor. Silk came from France, Syria, Egypt and India, and gold and silver thread for embroidery from Austria. Indigo, which was popular for dyeing cloth, came from Yemen and Indonesia. Both men and women were active producers: Bedouin women wove animal hair tents, household items, decorative camel gear and fabric for clothing, while rural and city women alike embroidered the intricate linings of trousers or upper garments. Men were active as tailors, leatherworkers for camel gear, goldsmiths and traders of cloth. Not all clothing was newly made: in Mecca there were markets where second-hand clothes were sold.



Wedding Outfit

Weddings in late nineteenth-century Mecca, especially those of the well off, were sumptuous occasions. The third, fourth and fifth months of the Muslim calendar were thought to be propitious for weddings and therefore recommended. Girls usually married between the age of twelve and twenty, their grooms between fourteen to twenty-five. For this photograph (left), taken in Mecca or Jeddah in 1887 or early 1888, a female model is dressed up in a bridal costume customary for the throne or *rika* ceremony (Classical Arabic: *arika*). This rite started with the washing of the bride's head and hair with soap and perfume, after which she took her seat on the throne, surrounded by her female relatives and friends. Then, the groom was escorted into the room and seated next to her. He would look at her, touch her forehead and recite the *Fatiha*. Before leaving to join his male guests downstairs, he would press seven golden coins on her face and repeat this three times. This wedding rite must have been physically demanding for the bride. Besides the heat caused by her heavy silk undergarments and dress, the weight of the ornaments made of precious metals and semi precious stones pinned on her front and back must have restricted her movements considerably.

The simple seating arrangement of the female model resembled in no way the common rich decor of the rika, which is visible in the photograph below. There, the bridegroom, in all likelihood a model as well, posed in the position where normally the bride would sit. The rika was composed of a wooden frame, draped with rich cloth such as satin silks embroidered with golden stars and embellished with rose-shaped brooches. It was set up in an upper room of the bride's house by relatives and friends of the bride. Multiple elaborate lamps and mirrors amplified the gleaming effect of the metal ornament on the throne and bride's dress. The silver ornaments that completed the bride's costume and rika, and other necessary items such as lamps and benches, could be hired from rich merchants who owned multiple sets. They were also provided by religious foundations. [LM]

Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 25c; Snouck Hurgronje 1889, 18a, 18b; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 48, 132, 140–141; Snouck Hurgronje 2007, 339–340, 356; Witkam 2007, 164–166, 606, ill. 82, 608, ills. 112–113

Photograph of the Meccan bride, by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, before 1888, 14x10.5 (26.5x22) cm. [UBL Or. 18.097 S 66 A2: 118]



Photograph of the bride's throne by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, 1886–1888, 15.5x11 cm. [UBL 880 A 20]







Inside the house Meccan women at the end of the nineteenth century customarily wore a short blouse with three or four buttons (*sidiriya*), trousers (*sirwal*) and thin undertrousers. Bracelets, anklets, noserings and earrings of precious metals would complement their attire. When leaving their home, they commonly covered their outfit with a thin and transparent silk or cotton gown (*milaya*) and a veil, such as is worn by the woman in the photograph (left below). In wintertime, heavier fabric was used for this. The covering gown was sometimes tucked inside the trousers on both sides.

Striped cloth for women's narrow-legged trousers had been popular at least since the beginning of the nineteenth century. Women's social and economic status could be deduced from the richness of the gold and silver thread embroidery along the inner side of the legs and the ankle bands. To hold the trousers up a thin cotton sash with embroidered designs called *dikka* was threaded through the seam of the waistband with a colourful wooden threading aid. The sash would then be tied leaving the tail ends hanging down loosely, as is visible on the black-and-white image. The striped trousers and blouse depicted here on the left were presented in 1884 to Museum Volkenkunde by Yusuf Qudsi Efendi, the dragoman at the British Consulate in Jeddah via the intercession of Consul Johannes Adrianus Kruyt.

According to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje fashion was important in late nineteenth-century Mecca. Women strove to possess multiple pieces of clothing so to avoid wearing the same outfit when visiting their friends. They spent a considerable amount of money on gold and silver thread and sequins, which added a luxurious feel to the ankle bands of trousers, sashes and blouses. These decorative precious metals were imported from Austria and Syria. After the death of family members and during the period of mourning special clothes were customary: although white was preferred between two to four months, green and black were also worn. The colour red was, however, avoided as were exuberant jewellery and ornament. [LM]

Ali Bey 1816, II, 105; Dozy 1845, 203–209, 245–248; Kruyt 1880, 359; Nederlandsche Staats-Courant 16–07–1884, 2, no. 166 and 12–09–1884, 2, no. 215; Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 520–522; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 37, no. 16; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 148; Burckhardt 1968, 185–186; Colyer Ross 1981, 60, 88

Blouse, cotton, before 1885, 36x83.8 cm, Kruyt collection (1884). [RMV RV-431-17]

Trousers with band, cotton, silk, silver thread, before 1885, 98.2x67 cm, Kruyt collection (1884). [RMV RV-431-18 and RV-431-19]

Photograph of a seated woman, by ‘Abd al-Ghaffar, 1886–1888, 13.5x10 (26x22) cm. [UBL Or 26.403: 79]

Yusuf Qudsi Efendi, dragoman of the British consulate in Jeddah, who donated the items of dress shown on the left, photograph by C. Snouck Hurgronje, 1884, 17.5x10.5 (26.5x22) cm. [UBL Or. 26.403: 31]





Veiling in Mecca

When performing household duties inside their own homes, middle class Meccan women in the late nineteenth century often wore a red or black scarf on their heads to protect their clothing from the greasy hair oil they used to prevent dry hair. When they relaxed, they placed a larger piece of fine fabric over it, with borders decorated with needle lace embroidery, a technique that is also known as *oya*. One corner of this scarf was often left to hang loose, so that they could cover the lower part of their faces when speaking to somebody just outside the house.

Outside the house Meccan women wore white burqas, with the exception of black female slaves, old female beggars and, according to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, some mentally ill women. The photograph (below) shows veiled women watching the passing of the *mahmal* from the lower zone and the first gallery of the minaret of Bab ‘Ali of the Great Mosque of Mecca. They were dressed in black, white or brown outer garments combined with white burqas. It is unclear whether these veils were as long as this beige veil that was sent to the Museum in 1884 by Dutch Consul J.A. Kruyt, alongside other articles of male and female dress.

This cotton veil, which was worn by elite urban Arabs, alternates undecorated with finely embroidered parts, which even contain a repetitive, hitherto undeciphered, inscription.The headband was fastened at the back of the head with a loop and button.

There were regulations for veiling when performing religious obligations, but within these boundaries women had the freedom to make individual choices. In the Great Mosque of Mecca some prayed wearing a veil that covered both their face and head, while others wore a head scarf only. When performing the rituals of Hajj, women in their *ihram* dress covered their heads, but the veiling of the face or covering of the hands was forbidden. Women who still wanted to conceal their face would wear a mask of plaited palm leaves that hung a few centimetres in front of the face. [LM]

Dozy 1845, 245–248; Kruyt 1880, 338; Nederlandsche Staats-Courant, 04–08–1883; Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 367–368, 511–512, 522; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 86; Oostdam & Witkam 2004, 76–78 Vogelsang-Eastwood & Vogelsang 2008, 114–116

Burqa, cotton, before 1885, 177.5x31.5 cm, Kruyt collection (1884). [RMV RV-431-16]



Photograph of the arrival of the *mahmal* in Mecca, before 1916, 17x23 cm, detail, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.362: 14]



This silver amulet chain was collected between 1885 and 1887 by or on the order of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. Various techniques such as engraving, stamping and filigree work were used to decorate the surfaces of its pendants. Similar techniques were also used on a Meccan-made silver belt and anklets collected by Dutch Envoy J.A. de Vicq in 1886.

Although the size and weight of this necklace would suggest a grown-up wearer, it was worn by children during Meccan feast days. When they donned them in the Great Mosque of Mecca, the noise created by the dangling amulets and their small bells annoyed and disturbed worshippers. The amulets were intended to protect children, both boys and girls, from harm. Religious texts were believed to enhance their effect: the six square and cylindrical hollow talismans could enclose writing on paper, whereas the upper side of the four plaques in the shape of a half-moon and a shield had engraved inscriptions that implored God for protection. The empty oval shape was intended to hold a (semi-) precious stone with talismanic properties; this was already absent at the time the chain was drawn for the lithograph in the *Bilder Atlas zu Mekka* (see above, p. 2). The clanging sound of the bells was believed to chase away harmful entities. On regular days, some parents would pin old silver coins on their children before they went to play in the streets, to protect them against the evil eye. Although men were not allowed to wear gold or gilt silver, Meccan boys were, until they reached puberty.

The girls in the photograph (below) show off the fine jewellery of city children with parents of vast means. These pieces were intended to display wealth more so than offer protection. Their necklaces consisted of multiple pearl strands and precious metals, which they combined with pair of bracelets on each arm, earrings, a ring and head-piece. Meccan men who had the financial means were obliged to provide their wives with a pair of bracelets for each wrist and upper arm, anklets, earrings and a nosering. [LM]

Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 153–154, no. 50, plate 14, no. 11; Nederlandsche Staats-Courant, 27–06–1886 and 28–6–1886; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 40, no. 11; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 46, 97; Colyer Ross 1978, 28; Witkam 2007, 604–605, ill. 71, no. 11

Amulet chain, (gilt) silver, before 1889, 47x38.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-139]



Photograph of children in Jeddah, by C.O. v.d. Plas, c. 1921–1924, 8x10.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 M: 35]





The sandals that were worn in late nineteenth-century Mecca and Medina by the well-to-do featured bright colours and attention to ornament for both sexes. The men's sandals (left above) feature green, red and yellow leather, embroidery with silver threads and multi-coloured pieces of felt of decreasing size sewn on top of the instep. The women's model (left below) is embellished with tufts of coloured wool and glass beads along its contours and the band over the instep, and has shiny spangles and silver-thread embroidery on the insole. In the early nineteenth century, the Syrian town of Aleppo provided gold and silver thread not only for embroidering leather objects, but also for the linings of women's trousers. In the latter part of the century these precious-metal threads also came from Austria.

Different types of sandals were associated with Mecca and with Medina, but in the late nineteenth century both were used interchangeably in the two cities. The women's sandals (left below), which were donated by Consul Hendrik van der Houven van Oordt in 1892, were associated with Medina. The men's sandals, which Raden Abu Bakar Djajadiningrat in all probability bought at the instigation of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, were associated with Mecca and feature an additional lateral strap (here with the multi-coloured pieces of felt) on the instep. This extra strap is also visible on the man's feet in the photograph (below), while the footwear of the young boy on the other side of the bentwood seat consists of slippers.

In the house, people would leave their sandals or shoes outside the rooms. Visitors to the Great Mosque of Mecca could take their footwear with them into the mosque if they kept the soles neatly pressed together. There were also caretakers who would put the sandals of worshippers in the pigeon-holes of large wicker frameworks that stood just outside the gate. They were given a copper coin for this, or an occasional present on feast days. Old sandals were also hung as protection against the evil eye at the physical boundary of a place or at its entrance. [LM]

Kruyt 1880, 360; Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Chijs, Leiden, 27 October 1885, UBL Or. 8952 L 4: 21; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 38, nos. 7–8; Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 150, no. 25, plate 12, no. 7; Rutter 1930, 141; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 98, 130; Burckhardt 1968, 121; Keane 2006, 28–29; Witkam 2007, 136

Men's sandals, leather, wool, gold and silver thread, fibres, before 1887, 26x12 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-100]

Women's sandals, fibres, wool, glass, silver thread, before 1893, 25x10 cm, Van der Houven van Oordt collection (1892). [RMV RV-884-2]



Photograph of a man and a boy on a bentwood seat, by ʻAbd al-Ghaffar, 1886–1888, 14x10.5 cm, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.368: 136]





This photograph (below) by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje shows two merchants in typical Western Arabian dress. The Meccan man on the left wears a wide-sleeved *binish*, or overcoat, that was open at the front, similar to the purple one with green silk lining (left above) collected by Dutch Consul Johannes Adrianus Kruyt. The man on the right from Medina sports a sleeveless vest, a sidiriya, that was worn on top of a long shirt, of which a collected yellow sample is shown left below. The bright colours of the collected items testify to the quality of the dyes used.

Men in late nineteenth-century Western Arabia would normally combine a long shirt of thin light-coloured cloth with trousers, undergarments and an overcoat that was held together by a cloth belt. Headgear, slippers and accessories like pouches and daggers would complete the Western Arabian costume. Men mostly slept in the garments that they wore underneath the coat. If they could afford it, pilgrims arriving from Indonesia would buy this type of Western Arabian dress, and wear it during their sojourn in Mecca. When they wore the costume at home, it signified their status as Hajji.

Men adjusted their dress according to the season, social class, economic status and the occasion such as work or feast days. To celebrate the end of Ramadan or the conclusion of the Hajj season, people would dress up in new clothes, preferably in a style associated with the class or economic status above them. Those of tight financial means would hire new clothes for a few days.

Questions to Meccan muftis about clothing indicate that people were well aware of the language of dress in society. One fatwa decreed that Muslims should avoid wearing any item of dress that was typical of infidels. Also, the appropriateness of wearing silk was questioned, an issue that had also been attended to in the *Hadith*, the Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad, where it was deemed reprehensible or forbidden for men but allowed for women. According to the Shafi'ite Meccan mufti Shaikh Muhammad Sa'id Babasil (d. 1912), pure silk and cloth that consisted for the most part of silk was forbidden for men, but fabric of an equal mix was allowed. [LM]

Nederlandsche Staats-Courant, 04–08–1883, no. 181, nos. 22 and 39; Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 505; Snouck Hurgronje 1889, plate 15b; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 35, 243; Burckhardt 1968, 185; Topham 1982, 92; Kaptein 1997, 6, 36, 71–72, 199, 203; Juynboll 2007, 11, 48, 327, 494

Long overcoat, camel-hair, before 1886, 138x198 cm, Kruyt collection (1885). [RMV RV-465-39]

Vest, cotton, silk, before 1886, 64x47.1 cm, Kruyt collection (1885). [RMV RV-465-22]



Photograph of two merchants in the Dutch Consulate, by C. Snouck Hurgronje, Jeddah, 1884-1885, 12.5x9 cm. [UBL 21522 A 16]





Bedouin Headdress

In late nineteenth-century Western Arabia, the head rope (ʻ*aqal)* was traditionally associated with Bedouin headdress. When urban Meccans were about to travel the desert, they changed their turban for the head rope and Bedouin headcloth, and wore a camel hair cloak (ʻ*abaya*). Most commonly the ʻaqal was made of alternating strands and loops of wool, but leather ones were also worn. The interchangeability of styles is documented on the photograph (below) of two sharifs that was taken by the Meccan doctor ʻAbd al-Ghaffar. The one on the left wears the turban wrapped around a skull-cap, the other the ʻaqal with braided loops of wool on top of a headcloth (*ghutra*). In the environment of their own home, Meccans would ususally unwind their turbans and wear the skull-caps only.

The ʻaqals that are now part of Museum Volkenkunde's collection give an impression of the variety. They range from simple woollen specimens without decoration to the one depicted (left above) that ends in colourful fringes and consists of simple wool strands alternating with pairs of cylindrical tubes composed of gold thread. According to Dutch Envoy J.A. Kruyt, the ʻaqal embellished with mother-of-pearl plaques illustrated left below was worn by members of the Hudhail Bedouin tribe, which roamed the Hejaz. Of all objects that were collected in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Western Arabia and donated to the Museum Volkenkunde, it is the only item that sports a signature. One of its plaques is engraved with the text: 'Sanʻat (the work of) Muhammad ibn Darwish ibn Marir'. As comparable collections of objects from Western Arabia that are dated or convincingly dateable to this period are extremely rare, it is uncertain whether the lack of signatures is coincidental or actually reflecting reality. If the latter was the case, this may be explained by a high rate of illiteracy among craftsmen or a dislike of or disinterest in extolling the maker.

Geometric designs adorn the other nine plaques of mother-of-pearl on the head rope. The material lent itself well for fine ornamentation through piercing or incising lines. Similar patterning was also applied on decorated shells that were popular as showpieces in the household (see below, pp. 178–179.) Small pieces of mother-of-pearl were also used to inlay low wooden tables. [LM]

Dozy 1845, 304; Nederlandsche Staats-Courant, 04–08–1885, no. 181; Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 505; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 16a; Rutter 1930, 202; Topham 1982, 118

Headrope (ʻ*aqal*), wool, before 1886, 130x4.3 cm, Kruyt collection (1885). [RMV RV-465-33]

Headrope (ʻ*aqal*), reed, resinous substance, mother-of-pearl, before 1886, ø22x2.9 cm, Kruyt collection (1885). [RMV RV-465-20]



Photograph of two sharifs, by ʻAbd al-Ghaffar, Mecca, 1886–1889, 12.5x9 cm. [UBL 21522 A 16]





Model of a Camel Seat

The photographs in the Leiden University Library collection that depict late nineteenth-century Western Arabian youth show both elite children and children of low social class. Best known are the portraits of the young elite, including the sons of sharifs (such as that of the later King ʿAbdallah of Transjordan), the offspring of the Banu Shayba, and sons of rich merchants in their finest dress, a selection of which was published in the *Bilder-Atlas* that accompanied Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's *Mekka*. Sometimes children were photographed during their playful activities (see below, p. 181). The photograph below (top) shows a group of boys and one girl posing in front of the camera on the streets of Jeddah. Their clothing and (lack of) shoes indicate various social and ethnic backgrounds. The inclusion of the stippled sheep and a model camel chair adds local flavour and raises the question whether the photographer orchestrated the scene. In the second photograph the group is decreased to the two finest dressed boys with turbans and shoes holding the model.

Whether the hooded miniature camel chair in the photographs was made for the local market to give prospective buyers a clear indication of the seller's merchandise or for other purposes is unknown. But a similar colourful model of a camel seat strung with plaited fibres did appeal to Dutch engineer A.J. Schelling (1855–1883), who ordered it while visiting Jeddah in June 1881. The purpose of his visit to Western Arabia was to prepare himself for future academic and engineering expeditions to its interior, but his untimely death in 1883 in Egypt prevented him from doing so.

Schelling paid a price of 9.40 Maria Theresa thalers for this model and sent it to the Leiden Museum. According to him the normal-sized ones cost between 20 and 50 thalers. They were a smaller alternative, either with or without the sun screen, to the camel litters or *shuqdhuf*s in which people could stretch out and that could hold some of the passenger's luggage (see above, pp. 72–73). In nineteenth-century Europe, the newly established ethnographic museums were keen to display models of houses and vehicles of transport for a better understanding of cultures abroad. The demand for models only increased in the second part of the nineteenth century, when the World Exhibitions of manufactured products became popular. [LM]

Schelling, RMV Archive, series-dossier RV-345; Schelling 1882, 170; Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 469; Rutter 1930, 151

Miniature camel seat, painted wood, fibres, before 1884, 49x48x31 cm, Schelling collection (1883). [RMV RV-345-21]



Photograph with a group of children, Jeddah, by N. Scheltema, c. 1910, 13x18 cm, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.365: 27]



Photograph of two boys with saddle, Jeddah, by N. Scheltema, c. 1910, 13x18 cm, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.365: 28]



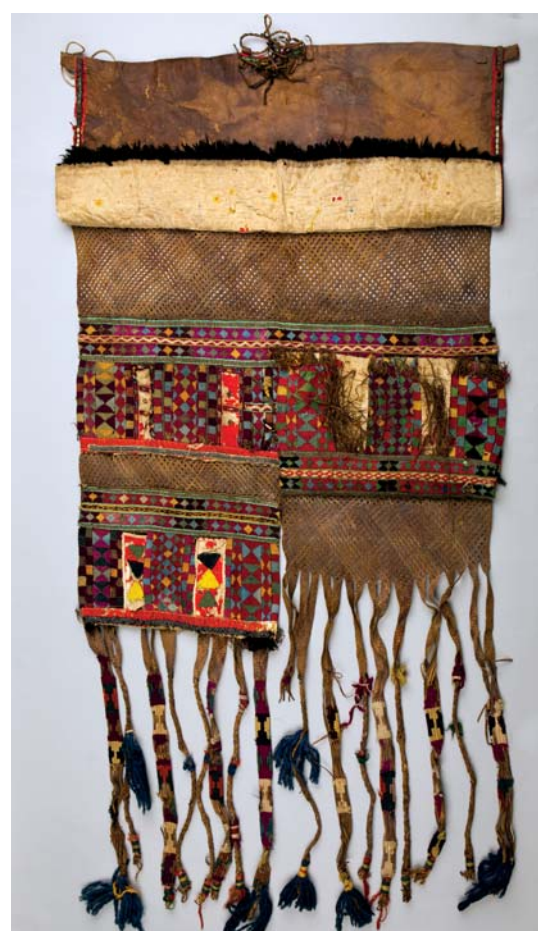
Camel Shoulder Decoration

The special shops for Bedouin clothing and camel gear in the Meccan markets in the 1920s sold, amongst other things, camel and donkey saddles, halters, and saddle bags of leather or hair. Bedouins invested craftsmanship, time and money in decorating their pack animals and litters with colourful bridles, saddle blankets and bags, mostly of goat or sheep's wool and leather. This remarkable item called *miraqqa'a* decorated the shoulder of the camel and served as a knee pad for the rider at the same time. It was sent by Dutch Consul Hendrik Spakler (based in Jeddah in 1890–1892) to the Museum Volkenkunde in 1897. Its central loop would go over the front horn of the camel's wooden saddle, and with its side strings it could be tied fastly to the camel. Its playful fringes would then dangle along the two sides of the animal's neck and shoulders. The knee pad of plain animal skin would normally have been stuffed with wool so that it could support the rider's legs.

The intricate work of the plaited leather combined with woven pieces and appliques exemplifies the high quality of craftsmanship. The base layer was composed of braided leather strips that join below in long tightly plaited fringes with integrated woven parts that end in woollen tassels. This braidwork was for the most part blocked from view by the colourful horizontal bands of unequal width that make up the woven upper layer. The upper longitudinal band consisted of brightly coloured woollen appliques, while the other parts alternated pieces of warp-faced pattern weaving in a subdued colour scheme with brightly coloured woollen appliques stitched onto the surface.
In addition, narrow oblong bands of metal threads and beads were used to decorate some of the edges of the woven pieces. The geometric designs, mostly variations of lozenges, triangles, hourglass patterns, squares and roundels, are typical of camel gear, and are also observed on rugs as well as the exteriors and interiors of traditional houses in Asir province. [LM]

Khan & Sparroy 1905, 106; Rutter 1930, 131; Topham 1981, 22–23, 46–49; Mauger 2001

Camel shoulder decoration, left: the *miraqqa'a* with its brightly coloured upper layer, right: the miraqqa'a with its braided base layer partly exposed, leather, cotton, wool, metal, before 1898, 147x79 cm, Spakler collection (1897). [RMV RV-1117-3]





Camel Trappings

Both men and women in nineteenth-century Western Arabia drove camels. Women were often seated behind their husbands or fathers on the camel's back, but some rode alone, spurring the animals on with sticks. To stimulate camels to cover long distances at a steady pace the cameleers would sing songs to its footsteps. Camels were known to bounce their necks to the rhythm of the song.

Much attention was given to the decorative trappings of these beasts of burden. This camel's bridle was donated to Museum Volkenkunde in 1897 by Dutch Consul Hendrik Spakler, together with the camel shoulder decoration and knee pad (see above, pp. 156–157). He had already dispatched another batch of camel gear in 1891 consisting of, among other things, a wooden saddle, a decorative shoulder decoration and saddle cloth, plain practical reins, belts and a stuffed saddle pad that the rider used to rest his knees or legs on. The use of fine silk and cotton for this bridle emphasises its decorative purpose.

The camel's decoration varied in accordance with the social and economic status of its owner, and the purpose for which these hoofed animals were ridden, such as pilgrimage, travel or transport of goods. In this photograph (below), first published in Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's *Bilder aus Mekka*, the high status of Sharif Yahya, the grandson of the Grand Sharif of Mecca 'Abd al-Muttalib (d. 1886), in riding costume, second on the right, is mirrored in the richly embroidered saddlecloth with long tassels, which would dance with every movement. The camel's imposing stance with its head slightly tilted upwards shows the head ornament in full glory. Its decorative parts that are comparable to the collected bridle (illustrated left) cover the camel's cheeks with the fringes loosely hanging down.

Late nineteenth-century sources distinguished between the slow caravans (*qafilas*) and the swift ones (*rakbs*). Pilgrims and Meccan women and children would normally go from Mecca to Medina by slow caravan, which would take about ten to twelve days. Meccan men would strive to bridge this distance in four to five days. To do so, they and their animals needed to practice for the fatiguing ride beforehand. Before taking off, they would congregate in small groups in accordance with their city quarter, and each group would be headed by an appointed sheikh of the rakb. [LM]

Snouck Hurgronje 1889, plate 17; Khan & Sparroy 1905, 106; Rutter 1930, 171; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 60; Witkam 2007, 608, ill. 111; Urkevich 2015, 19–21

Camel's bridle, leather, silk, iron, before 1898, 114.5x40cm, Spakler collection (1897). [RMV RV-1117-4]



Photograph of Sharif Yahya with his riding camel, by 'Abd al-Ghaffar, 1887–1888, 18.5x24.5 (27x36.5) cm. [UBL 880 A 20]



8

Family Life in Mecca

Descriptions of late nineteenth-century Meccan houses address the importance of hospitality to visitors in Meccan and Jeddan homes.While unexpected visitors were received in the hall, acquaintances and friends were welcomed to a room near the entrance hall that also functioned as office, bedroom or storage. For the comfort of guests these were often furnished with carpets and plush cushions. Hospitality was expressed through sharing food, drinking coffee, tea and sorbet (a fruit-flavoured beverage), and smoking the water pipe. Visitors were treated to small farewell ceremonies with rosewater and incense and on special occasions they were even provided with a sweet dish to take home.

Daily family life took place in the salon, which usually had windows or balconies allowing a view onto the streets, or on the roof terrace, which also housed the stone ovens. Along the walls of salons were shelves on which porcelain, glass and earthenware objects could be displayed. In this period, imported luxury goods in the houses of the well-to-do started replacing locally produced vessels. This growing popularity of international luxury goods is, however, not reflected in the collected artefacts in Museum Volkenkunde. The envoys and academics, who observed this change with regret, endeavoured to present an image of traditional society.

Unlike the Catalan traveller Ali Bey (1767–1818) who had observed a general dearth of Meccan-made artefacts, other late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century visitors such as Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje in 1885, pilgrim Gazanfar ‘Ali Khan in 1902 and head of the Egyptian Hajj caravan Ibrahim Rif’at Pasha between 1903–1909 noticed much production activity in the Meccan markets. The manufacturers were on the whole foreign craftsmen who implemented techniques and styles from their homelands. The crafts were divided into guilds, which were each headed by a guild master.



According to eyewitness Ibrahim Rif'at Pasha, the four-times head of the Hajj caravan, Mecca in the early decades of the twentieth century had 95 popular coffeehouses, outfitted with benches and chairs with netted seats made of the plaited fibres of palm leaves. Their customers were served tea, coffee and water pipes. A mixture of cardamon, cloves and black caraway flavoured the popular Yemeni coffee beans. Most coffeehouses were in the open air, with shade provided by walls or woven cloth. Inventories of coffeehouses were simple and consisted of earthenware coffee pots and cups, tin-plated mugs, earthenware water jars and water pipes. Examples of these rather rough wares are the reddish earthenware coffee jug decorated with geometric ornamentation and the simple cup of yellowish earthenware with a greenish glaze (left image, left and central position). Both were collected by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, who commented that these were used by Bedouins. More distinguished were coffee cups executed in polished wood, which were combined with a holder on a high foot of the same material (left image, right position). These were probably used in wealthier urban households.

During the evenings, coffeehouses provided entertainment: visitors would listen to story tellers who read parts of the *Thousand and One Nights* and the story of ʻAntar. For this they were given a small financial remuneration by the coffeehouse patrons. This kind of distraction was, according to Snouck Hurgronje, shunned by educated people.

The photograph (below) of the interior of a coffeehouse with its benches, water pipes and an earthenware jug was taken in March 1926 in Bahra, between Mecca and Jeddah, by throat, nose and ear specialist Dirk Gerrit Weigardus van Voorthuysen (1888–1942). He was in the company of Dutch Envoy Daniël van der Meulen (consul between 1926 and 1931, central with hat) and some unidentified Indonesians, one of them in *ihram* dress. [LM]

Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 37, nos. 11, 13, plate 40, nos. 6–7; Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 148–149, nos. 13–15, plate 11, figs. 12–13, plate 14, figs. 6–7, Khan & Sparroy 1905, 286; Rif'at 1925, 184; Van Voorthuysen to Snouck Hurgronje, Oegstgeest 29 June 1927, UBL Or. 8952 A: 1030; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 166; Witkam 2007, 226–227

Coffee jug, unglazed earthenware, before 1889, 17.3x8 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-77a]

Coffee cup, glazed earthenware, before 1889, 4x4.7 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-75]

Coffee cup with holder, wood, before 1889, 6.6x4.9 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-43 and 43d]

Photograph of a coffeehouse in Bahra, by D.G.W. van Voorthuysen, March 1926, 8.5x11 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or.12.288 B:48]





Smoking the Water Pipe

As water pipes (shishas) were popular and most households owned at least one, late nineteenth-century Mecca accommodated many producers of smoking merchandise. Water pipes were often in need of repair, because of their frequent use by men and women both privately at home and publicly in coffeehouses. In 1885 it was common to use a coconut for the water reservoir. From this the alternative term *narjila* (an Arabic word for coconut) derives. The coconut reservoir of the water pipe here, which was collected by Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, is plaited with brass, its hose made of leather encircled with copper thread. The shisha in front of the two seated men on the photograph (below) gives an indication of the height of the smoking gear. The caption on the reverse side identifies the two men as 'Bedouin sharifs'.

Dutch Consul Hendrik van der Houven van Oordt, who also donated a water pipe with tobacco from Western Arabia to Museum Volkenkunde, informed the Museum in 1892 about the preparation of the leaves in Jeddah. After first mixing the leaves with water, the liquid was removed by squeezing the leaves. Then the moist tobacco was placed in the earthenware head or leafholder on top of the shisha. It was best to limit the amount of tobacco and remove the stems of the leaves before use.

In the nineteenth century the permissibility of smoking shisha was a subject of discussion among legal jurists. Some argued it was forbidden in all circumstances; others such as Mufti and Shaykh al-'Ulama' Ahmad Dahlan, himself a smoker, argued it depended on the circumstances whether it was permissible, reprehensible or forbidden (*haram*). According to him smoking in a mosque was allowed unless it was harmful to anyone present, but smoking during Qur'an recitation was a sign of bad manners. When it was prescribed by a doctor or if a man felt better by doing so, it was advised, but if the tobacco was in any way noxious, it was forbidden and punishable. The legal qualification 'disapproved' (*makruh*) was applicable if smoking was too expensive for an individual. [LM]

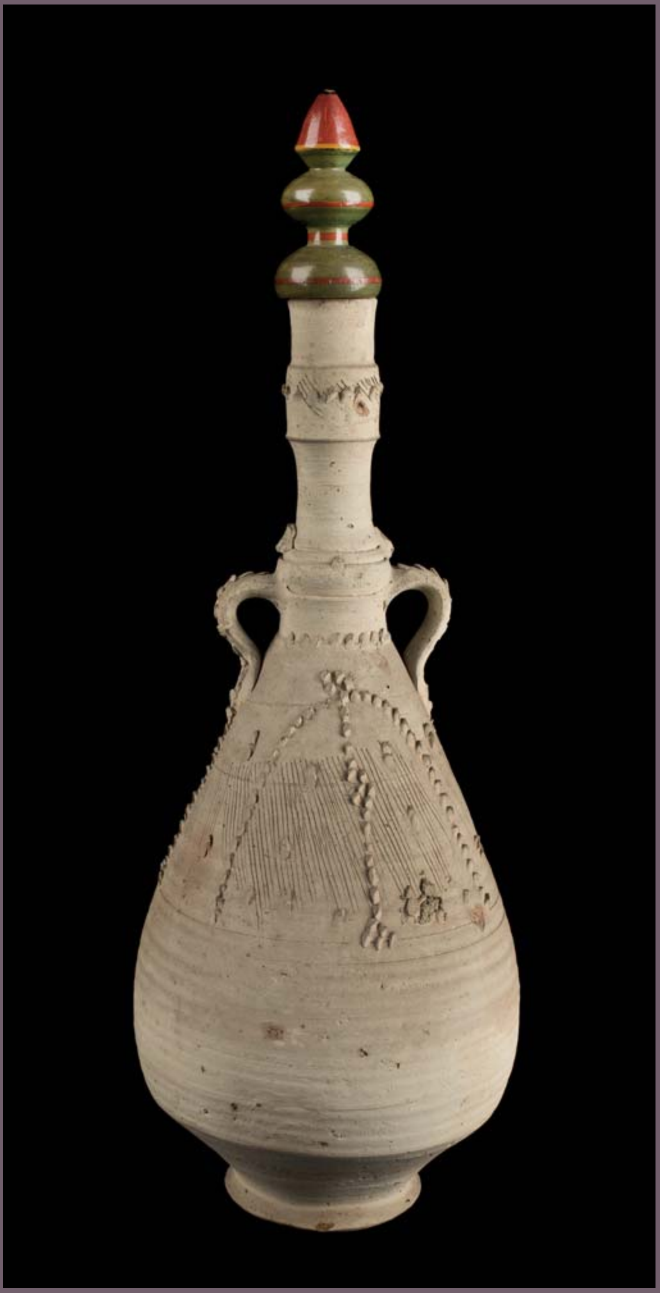
Lane 1860, 138–140; Snouck Hurgronje 1887, 350–351; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 40, no. 10; Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 146, 149, no. 18, plate 14, fig. 10; Van der Houven van Oordt, 24 June 1892, RMV Archive, series dossier RV-884; Snouck Hurgronje 1900, 406–407; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 51, 123; Snouck Hurgronje 1941, 6–7; Kaptein 1997, 53–54, 57, 78–80, 198, 200–201

Water pipe, coconut, leather, brass, copper, earthenware, before 1889, 78.8x10.2 cm, standard (H) 16cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-82 and 82a]. The hose is missing from the photo.



Photograph of two seated men smoking the shisha, by 'Abd al-Ghaffar, 1886–1888, 14x10.5 cm, Oosters Instituut collection (1996). [UBL Or. 26.368: 31]





Around 1885, at least five different types of porous unglazed earthenware water jugs were used in Meccan households: the *ghellaya*, *sherba*, *qulla*, *rub'i* and the *ibriq*. One of the lithographs in Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje's *Bilder Atlas zu Mekka* gives a good impression of this variety (see introduction, p. 8, Plate 5). Ibriqs were used for washing hands after dinner, cleaning after toilet use and ritual ablution. The other four models served to distribute drinking water. Every household had a large earthenware water basin (*zir* or *birka*), that could contain a few hundred water skins of water and that was located in the area that served as a combined washing place, bath and toilet. In 1885 these reservoirs were filled by hand by water carriers who entered the house. In 1930 water carriers inserted the mouth of the water skin into a hole in the wall outside the door of the women's (*harim*) section of the house, and poured the water through. The water then ran down a stone channel into the container in the kitchen, so that the seclusion and privacy of rich women was protected. With the large ghellaya jars water was taken from these zirs and poured and distributed into smaller unglazed vessels or washtubs.

The richly decorated surface of the two rub'i-type jars (left) suggests they were showpieces and used to serve guests. According to Dutch Vice-Consul Pieter Nicolaas van der Chijs, the pair of handles between the neck and body and the narrow mouth characterise them as Meccan. The pin of the polychrome wooden stopper on the rub'i on the right sinks deep into its neck and protects the water against contamination by dust or insects. An alternative was to cover their mouth with a thin white cloth or with tree fibres, called *lif*, through which water could also be filtered.

The water inside these jugs was kept cool as it could evaporate via the porous earthenware surface. They were customarily placed in window openings where a current of air passed by. Members of the poor classes drew water directly from wells using petroleum jars, as the image (below) shows. This probably had a brackish taste, as it is referred to as 'salt water' on the reverse side of the photograph. [LM]

Lane 1860, 151–153; Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 532; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 37, no. 8; Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 148, no. 8, plate 11, fig. 8; Van der Chijs, 1887, RMV Archive, series dossier RV-559; Rutter 1930, 201–202, 386; Watson 2004, 93; Snouck Hurgronje 2007, 356

Jar (*rub'i*), unglazed earthenware, Mecca, before 1915, 31.3x10.5 cm, Bataviaasch Genootschap collection (1914). [RMV RV-1877-96]

Jar (*rub'i*), unglazed earthenware, painted wood Mecca, before 1889, 51x17.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-8]



Photograph of women drawing water from a well behind the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, by C.O. van der Plas, 1921–1926, 7.5x10 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 M: 32]





These two fragrance vessels of earthenware and Bohemian glass represent the two different fashions common in Mecca around 1885 that were used side by side: traditional local products and imported luxury goods. According to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, the latter became increasingly popular during his stay in Mecca in 1885. But already in 1879 traders in Jeddah imported glass and glass coral beads from Austria and Venice for the equivalent of 10,000 Maria Theresa thalers.

Colourful earthenware incense burners were kindled at people's homes and in public places like shops and coffeehouses. At night, burners with musk and aloeswood were also placed on the threshold of the door of the Ka'ba. Special qualities were assigned to the fragrance of burning incense such as the chasing away of illness, the evil eye and hostile powers in people's homes. At weddings, the bride and her female guests not only immersed their dresses in the scent of burning aloeswood, but also rubbed aloe oil into their skin. It then symbolised and supported the new beginning and granted benediction. Also children were occasionally incensed. Furthermore, Meccans treated the interior of water jugs with the smoke of mastic or burning myrrh from the *qafal* tree to give water an aromatic flavour. During weddings, rose or aloe oil were used for the same purpose.

When a host offered a burning incense burner and a rose water sprinkler to his guests, it signified that the visit was over. Visitors then washed their hands with the rose water, thanked the host and left. Both rose water and Zamzam water were also employed for the yearly cleaning and washing of the exterior and interior of the Ka'ba. Benedictory qualities were ascribed to the used water, so pilgrims tried to collect it for drinking or washing their bodies. When the Ka'ba was in need of repair, rose water was used for mixing the mortar. The petals for distilling the rose perfume were gathered, amongst other places, from the rose bushes in the vicinity of Taif. [LM]

Ali Bey 1816, II, 42–43, 58–59; Burton 1874, III, 7–8; Kruyt 1880, 360; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 37, nos. 10, 18; Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 146, 148, no. 9, 150, no. 19, plate 11, figs. 10, 18; Khan & Sparroy 1905, 165; Rutter 1930, 223, 332; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 76, 98–99, 136; Burckhardt 1968, 137; Snouck Hurgronje 2007, 356

Left: Incense burner, earthenware, paint, before 1893, 11.8x11 cm, Spakler collection (1892). [RMV RV-870-4]

Right: Rose water sprinkler, milk glass, Mecca, before 1889, 29.5x7.8 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-124]



Lamps and Light

This hexagonal candle lamp (*fanus*) with a suspension eye was collected in Mecca in the 1880s by or on the order of Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje. It stood or was suspended in the house and was carried outside at night on the streets and to the mosque. Candles of beeswax or whale fat, popular as its grease was less prone to damage carpets, were used as fuel. Another alternative was petroleum, but because of its unpleasant odour and fire hazard, it use was forbidden in the Great Mosque in Mecca. Although this ban was regulated by the Ottoman authorities, it stirred questions within the Muslim community in Indonesia, where cheap petroleum was popular for mosque lamps. To resolve this, Mufti Sayyid Ahmad Dahlan issued a fatwa proclaiming that the prohibition was restricted to the Mosque in Mecca only.

Other types of lamps used in late nineteenth-century Mecca were the *tannur*, a glass lantern on a low stand lighted the same way as the fanus, a glass oil lamp called a *qandil* and a cylinder-shaped *burma*. A small pewter lamp (*misraja*) was used when letting the guests out, and an Indonesian sheikh who resided in the Holy City and who was known for his austerity even wrote his books by this feeble light at night. The most gaudy lamps in modern and rich Meccan households were the gigantic crystal chandeliers (*najafa*) that were imported.

Special occasions required more light, such as the parading of a groom from his house to the Great Mosque of Mecca. The latter was lit all year round by lamps, but during the nights of Ramadan extra lamps were placed on high pedestals and pilgrims customarily brought lamps. The photograph (below) shows the abundance of lamps hanging on the walls, which were lit also for worldy festivities such as this proclamation of the re-establishment of the Constitution after the Young Turk Revolution of 1908. To the left of the speaker is the emir of Mecca Sharif Husayn (1853–1931). In all probability its maker was the Turkish photographer Mahmud Hamdi ‘Arabgirli. [LM]

Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 64, 129–130, 132, 137–138, 180, 258 n. 1, 272; Snouck Hurgronje 1941, 8; Burckhardt 1968, 160

Lamp (*fanus*), brass, glass, before 1889, 57.5x26.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-17]



Photograph of the proclamation of the re-establishment of the Constitution, probably by Mahmud Hamdi ‘Arabgirli, Mecca, 1909, 17x21 cm. [UBL Or. 26.362: 25]





Food and Food Display in Mecca

This type of low square or octagonal table of turned wood (left above) was used in late nineteenth-century Meccan interiors where they supported large brass platters. The latter either displayed the family's showpieces, such as copperware, or was used to present food in bowls and plates. A platter could contain food for up to five or six people. For special occasions such as the ritual naming of a child, platters were also put on a white cloth that was spread in front of guests seated on the floor. The table's colour scheme, combining red, green, ochre and black areas with the 'marbling' painting technique, suggest a connection with contemporary Yemeni, Indian and Afghan woodwork. Craftsmen from these countries might have been active as woodworkers in Mecca.

The colourful lid (left below and right) was used to cover bowls or plates of food during transport to protect them from dust and insects. Hosts sent covered dishes to friends or neighbours who were hindered from following up upon an invitation. This lid is made of strips of palm leaves to which colour was added by attaching silk and woollen pieces to the rim and above. Similar lids of palm leaves were also used in Morocco in the late nineteenth century.

According to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, there were three types of social dinners: formal invitations to celebrate a religious occasion that started with Qur'an recitation, informal ones that began with coffee, tea and shisha, and picnics held in uninhabited Meccan houses or in gardens outside the city. In the case of picnics, people would either bring food themselves or hire a cook. A popular main meal for the middle and higher classes consisted of rice cooked in a meat broth, and goat meat or mutton. The rice would commonly be piled up in a conical shape to which pieces of meat would be added. Besides this, small plates with vegetables, such as stuffed tomatoes, small courgettes and mulukhiya (a thick, spinach-like vegetable), sweets and fruits were served. The poor served rice with salt, pickled vegetables and fruits but without meat. [LM]

Snouck Hurgronje 1886, 480–481, 486–487, 516–518; Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 38, nos. 3, 9, 10; Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 149 no. 17, 151 no. 32, plate 12, figs. 3, 10; Quedenfeldt 1887, 264, fig. 4, no. 10b

Low table, turned and painted wood, before 1889, 39x36x36 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-146a]

Left below and right: Food lid, palm leaves, silk, wool, before 1889, 16.5x28.8 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-143]



ان النخل قد يكون بمصر ويجنى في الخريف عند منتهى الثمرات وما دام ثمره
اخضر فرائحته تشبه رائحة السفرجل ويسمى قطوما وهو البلح وهو
عفص ويشبه جمر عفص يمنع الاسهال وسيلان الرطوبات المزمنة من
الرحم ويقطع سيلان دم البواسير واذا تضمد به الزوا الرجاف واذا
نمى البلح حتى
يصير بسرا
سمي فنقوس
والبسر اشد
فضا من العسب
غير انه يصدع
واذا اكثر من
اكله اسكر
واما العسب
فانه ينفع من
نفث الدم ووجع
المعدة وقرحة
الامعا ووجع
المثانة اذا
تضمد به مسحوقا
مع سفرجل وموم
مذاب بدهن
زهرة الكرم



ولا سيما المسمى فادوطوا واذا اكل مع حب الصنوبر ابرا خشونة الحلق
واما البسر الذي يبلنا سر بعد الصعد ار طبخ وشرب ماوه مع الجلاب
سكن الحرارة ويقوي الاوصال اذا شرب مع الجلاب العسو واذا اكل فعل ذلك
ايضا وقد يتخذ منه نبيذ فيثبت بعل فعله وطبيخه اذا شرب وحده او مع غيره

Dates

The city of Medina was, and still is, famous for its date palm trees. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century these fruits were grown for local and regional use and for export to Syria, Egypt, London and India, among other places. In Medina dates were stored in skins. When exported they were pressed in sacks made of straw. Late nineteenth-century visitors commented that the groves which surrounded the town then yielded between 40 to 70 different varieties. Pilgrim Gazanfar ʻAli Khan was informed in 1902 that trees could have multiple owners, so that during harvest time the yields had to be shared. The trees also provided fibres and leaves for mats, lids and fans, and stoppers for earthenware jars.

Medina dates were highly prized by locals and pilgrims, as it was believed that the produce was one of the blessings conferred by the Prophet Muhammad on the city. Miraculous properties were attributed to ʻajwa dates from Medina in the *Hadith*, the Sayings of the Prophet Muhammad: 'He who breakfasts on seven dates of the ʻajwa variety will that whole day not be harmed by any poison or enchantment until the evening'. Its wondrous effect was attributed to the Prophet's plea to God to bless this particular type. Other Hadiths relate how the Prophet combined dates with cucumber, a perfect combination as the supposed heat of the dates would balance out the coolness of the vegetable. For Palestinian pilgrims in the early twentieth century dates from Mecca not only conferred blessings on adults, but also would aid children to speak sooner.

This illustration of a palm tree with abundant bunches of dates is part of the oldest known illustrated Arabic copy of the revised text of the famous botanical work *De Materia Medica*. It was originally written by the first-century scholar Dioscorides Pedanius. The beneficial qualities of dates were well recognised: dried dates were used as an astringent to stop the excretion of fluids from the body, such as dysentery or excessive menstruation. [LM]

Kruyt 1880, 361; Khan & Sparroy 1905, 265; Canaan 1927, 108; Rutter 1930, 513, 570–572; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 59; Encyclopaedia of Islam 1960–2009, V, 1002, s.v. Madina (Watt & Winder); Juynboll 2007, 46–47, 61, 231

Manuscript of an Arabic translation of Dioscorides Pedanius's *De Materia Medica*, (*Kitab al-hasha'ish fi hayula al-ʻilaj al-tibbi*), Samarqand 475 (Jan–Febr. 1083), fol. 44a, 30.5x19.5 cm, Warner collection. [UBL Or. 289]





In 1885 Meccans often drank from simple wooden bowls lightly decorated with rows of nails of whitish metal. More luxurious alternatives were the painted wooden goblets such as the beaker depicted here (below), or imported Bohemian glass, which, to the irritation of some Western observers, became more and more fashionable at that time. These ornately decorated cups were also used for drinking sorbet. There was a Meccan and a Medinese way of drinking this beverage: in Mecca, a gathering of people would each take a sip from a single vessel that passed from person to person, whereas in Medina guests were offered a full beaker that they could finish on their own. A popular drink to celebrate the end of the month of Ramadan was a beverage made of water that had been infused with almonds, rose petals, grapes or lemons.

The lidded liquid container (left below), which was used for water, served as an alternative to earthenware jars, although it was less practical as wood does not cool the water in the same fashion as unglazed porous earthenware does. They were often used purely as luxury wares and displayed on shelves along the walls of the house. However, the reddish pierced piece of wood in the upper part of the neck, which served to filter the water and prevented dust and insects from falling inside, is evidence they had a practical purpose as well.

The decorative repertoire of the woodworkers consisted mainly of geometric and vegetal designs. For the latter, they derived their inspiration directly from nature, as suggested by the plant forms on the lidded box (left above) in which small trinkets were kept. The striking zigzag lines on the beaker (below) suggest flowing water. These patterns were applied by first adding single or multiple layers of paint. By incising the upper layer, the colour of the layer underneath (which could be the wood itself, as in the case of the water container) became visible. Marbling was also used as is visible on the upper part of the neck of the lidded liquid container. According to Christiaan Snouck Hurgronje, painted woodwork wares were mostly manufactured in Mecca by Indians. Their countrymen might have also been responsible for the intricately carved wooden doors that adorned Meccan houses. [LM]

Snouck Hurgronje 1888a, plate 39, nos. 4, 6, plate 40, no. 4; Snouck Hurgronje 1888b, 146, 152, no. 40, 153, nos. 45–46, plate 13, figs. 4–6; Rif'at Pasha 1925, II, plate 281; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 3, 130; Snouck Hurgronje 2007, 283

Lidded box, wood, paint, before 1889, 12.5x9.3 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-121]

Lidded water container, wood, paint, before 1889, 25.5x11.1 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-51]

Beaker, wood, paint, before 1889, 8.5x10.5 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919). [RMV RV-1973-59]







Decorative shells like these, of which there are nine in the collection of Museum Volkenkunde, might have served as a dish for small valuables in Western Arabian houses. But the delicateness of the material and the intricate designs make them showpieces in their own right. Sharp pointed instruments were used for incising lines and circles on the surface and piercing it with small dots. The floral and geometric designs, especially the one pictured left above with the central flower, are reminiscent of ornamention used in the margins of Qur'ans. Their rear side was left undecorated. Smaller pieces of mother-of-pearl were also used in the Hejaz in headbands (see above, pp. 152–153), and inlaid in the decorated wooden tables that supported platters with food.

Shells like these were harvested from vast sandbanks in the middle of the Red Sea. In 1880 their quality was highly regarded, not only locally but also internationally as they were an important export commodity from Jeddah's harbour. They were most highly valued if they were white and shiny, and without holes, veins or stains. Their diameter varied between eight and 22 centimetres, the larger ones being rarer. Their size determined their use: large ones measuring seventeen centimetres or more and often with heavy crusting on the sides, were sought after in Paris for luxury goods. In Jerusalem rosaries, crosses and statues were made from them. Shells of medium size, between eight and seventeen centimetres, were popular in London and Vienna for buttons. These were required to be white, shiny, translucent and flat. The shells that were exported from Jeddah to Europe went via Cairo, and those destined for Jerusalem via the port city of Jaffa.

After harvesting they were sold near the seashore in quantities between ten and 100 kilogrammes. Prospective buyers had to have a trained eye as the stacks of high quality shells were mixed with those of a lower standard and earth. After their transport to Jeddah they were sold again to buyers who had to take high risks as they were only allowed to open up five percent of the bales. [LM]

Burton 1874, III, 137; Kruyt 1880, 354; Snouck Hurgronje to Van der Chijs, Leiden, 27 October 1885, UBL Or.8952 L 4: 21

Shell, mother-of-pearl, before 1889,
ø15 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919).
[RMV RV-1973-136]

Shell, mother-of-pearl, before 1889,
ø14.2 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1919).
[RMV RV-1973-137]





Children's Toys

The Leiden collections occasionally provide a glimpse of the world of children in the Hejaz in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. Sons of dignitaries and important families were photographed in the Dutch Consulate in Jeddah, as were juvenile pilgrims or merchants' aides who were photographed alongside groups of adults. Differences in social classes and ethnic background are shown in more or less staged street images of children posing in lines or half circles before the camera (see above, p. 155).

References to the kind of toys Meccan children played with or information about their games are rare. The Swiss traveller Burckhardt observed in 1814 that children played in the streets in front of their house as soon as they could walk. Girls and boys were allowed to play together until they reached the age of eight to ten. In 1885 Snouck Hurgronje saw children playing on Russian swings during the celebration of the end of Ramadan in Mecca. He also noted jugglers performing tricks for children in front of the burial place al-Mu'alla, when male Meccans visited it on the eleventh of each month.

Images of playing children, such as these girls on a swing (below), are also extremely rare, as are artefacts related to late nineteenth-century Hejazi children. Collectors seldom acquired children's objects: it is also possible that some artefacts have not yet been identified as such in museums. Exceptions in the Western Arabia collection of Museum Volkenkunde are children's clothes and jewellery (see above, pp. 146–147), and these three figurines of riders (left above and below), with which children played according to Consul Hendrik van der Houven van Oordt in 1892. They were made of a paste of clay that was wrapped in gold-painted straw. Similar materials were used for the pyramid-shaped amulets whose material was taken from the immediate surroundings of the Great Mosque of Medina (see above, p. 81). The use of locally found, base and cheap materials is common practice for toys in all pre-industrial cultures, as are representations of local culture such as these riders. Not all toys were, however, manufactured locally. In 1879, for example, toys were also imported to Western Arabia for an amount of 5000 Maria Theresa thalers. [LM]

Kruyt 1880, 359; Burckhardt 1968, 186; Snouck Hurgronje 1931, 55, 76, 86; Willemsen 1998, 21

Toys, clay, straw, paint; top left: before 1898, 10.5x9.6x4cm, Spakler collection (1897). [RMV RV-1117-6]; top right: before 1893, 13x10.5x6cm, Van der Houven van Oordt collection (1892). [RMV RV-884-7]

Toy, clay, straw, paint, before 1898, 13.2x6.2x6cm, Spakler collection (1897). [RMV RV-1117-5]



Photograph of two girls on a swing during the celebration of the end of Ramadan, Jeddah, by C.O. van der Plas, Jeddah, 1921–1924, 10x8 cm, Snouck Hurgronje collection (1956). [UBL Or. 12.288 M: 36]

Appendices

Appendix I: Locating the Collections

Please note that all call numbers cited in this work are preceded by an abbreviation indicating the holding institution:
RMV = Leiden Museum of Ethnology ([Rijks] Museum Volkenkunde)
UBL = Leiden University Libraries (Universitaire Bibliotheken Leiden)

Leiden University Library
Address: Witte Singel 27, 2311 BG Leiden, The Netherlands. Postal address: PO Box 9501, 2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands. Phone: +31 71 527 2800.
Website: http://www.leiden.library.edu.

All Oriental manuscripts in the Leiden University Library bear the prefix 'Or.' for Oriental (sometimes also 'Cod. Or.' for Codex Orientalis), followed by an accession number. A basic description of the manuscripts under consideration in the present volume can currently be found in J.J. Witkam's online inventory of Oriental manuscripts at Leiden University, available on his personal website http://www.islamicmanuscripts.info (Witkam 2006–....; for the Amin al-Madani collection see vol. III, 118–240; IV, 5–9). The inventory includes information from earlier catalogues such as P. Voorhoeve's *Handlist of Arabic Manuscripts* (Voorhoeve 1980). Information from Witkam is now gradually being converted into electronic bibliographic records in the online catalogue: http://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl. A guide to the Madani collection is available on the Digital Special Collections webpages of Leiden University Libraries: https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=2893709.
The Western Arabian photograps of Leiden University have been added to the collections since 1956. They can mostly be found under call numbers Or. 12.288 and Or. 18.097 and in the range Or. 26.362–23.407. For further details and conditions of access the reader is advised to consult the collection guides published by Leiden University Libraries, starting with a general overview of the Snouck Hurgronje collections (https://socrates.leidenuniv.nl/R/-?func=dbin-jump-full&object_id=885155). A large part of the collections has been digitised in recent years, but much remains to be done.

The audio fragments, transferred from the Oosters Instituut to Leiden University Library in 1996 but registered only in 2016, bear the call number Or. 27.131. They have been digitised but not yet published, and an inventory by the ethnomusicologist Anne van Oostrum is due to appear soon (Van Oostrum forthc.).
Printed books in the Oriental collections usually have a shelfmark in the 800 or 8000 range. As a rule, all printed books can be located and requested through the Leiden University online catalogue: http://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl.

Museum Volkenkunde
Address: Steenstraat 1, 2312 BS Leiden, The Netherlands. Postal address: PO Box 212, 2300 AE Leiden, The Netherlands. Phone: +31 88 004 2800.
Website: https://volkenkunde.nl/en.

On 1 April 2014 three major Dutch ethnological museums (Tropenmuseum in Amsterdam, Museum Volkenkunde in Leiden and Afrika Museum in Berg en Dal) merged to form the Nationaal Museum van Wereldculturen (National Museum of World Cultures) on three locations. Each of these three continues to be known by their former name. The digital database of the collections of all three museums can be found at http://www.collectie.tropenmuseum.nl. A basic inventory of the Western Arabian collections can also be found on the website of Museum Volkenkunde: https://volkenkunde.nl/collections/.

Since the merger of the three museums, the numbering of the Western Arabian artefacts donated to Museum Volkenkunde since 1880 consists of three parts: the abbreviation 'RV', followed by a series number and then a unique number for individual objects, for example RV-431-12. When searching the database of Museum Volkenkunde, the abbreviation 'RV' should be omitted.

The serial numbers of Western Arabian objects that have been donated to the Museum Volkenkunde since 1880 are as follows:
RV-245: Kruyt collection (1880); RV-345: Schelling collection (1883); RV-346: Kruyt collection (1883); RV-431: Kruyt collection (1884); RV-465: Kruyt collection (1885); RV-543: De Vicq collection (1886); RV-628: Snouck Hurgonje collection (1887); RV-559: Van der Chijs collection (1887); RV-811: Spakler collection (1891); RV-819: Van der Houven van Oordt collection (1891); RV-870: Spakler collection (1892); RV-884: Van der Houven van Oordt collection (1892); RV-1117: Spakler collection (1897); RV-1877: Bataviaasch

Genootschap (1914); RV-1973: Snouck Hurgronje Collection (1919); RV-2107: Snouck Hurgronje Collection (1927); B106 series: long-term loan from Oosters Instituut Leiden (1958); B118-1: long-term loan from Mrs. Gobée-Bosman (1959); RV-4096: Adriaanse collection (1965); RV-5271: Adriaanse collection (1984); RV-5353: Adriaanse collection (1984); RV-6043: De Ruiter collection (2005).

Appendix II: Dutch Diplomats in Jeddah

Between 1872 and 1950 the following Dutch diplomats were stationed in Jeddah (Dingemans 1973, 302; De Vries & Daniëls 1992, 8; Nederland's Patriciaat 2010):

1872–1873	Rudolph W.J.C. de Menthon Bake, consul (1811–1874)
1873–1878	Willem Hanegraaff, consul (1839–1878)
1878–1885	Johannes Adrianus Kruyt, consul/consul general (1841–1928)
1885–1890	Joan Adriaan de Vicq, consul (1857–1899)
1890–1892	Hendrik Spakler, consul (1861–1937)
1892	Hendrik van der Houven van Oordt, consul (1865–1892)
1892–1893	Gerrit Sybrand Endt, consul (1862–1893)
1894	Frederik Jan Haver Droeze, consul (1847–1909)
1894–1897	Jacques Eduard de Sturler, consul (1855–1921)
1897–1899	Eliza Theodoor van Delden, consul (1849–1925)
1899–1903	Franciscus Gerardus Augustinus van Delden, consul (1834–1911)
1903–1905	Carel Christiaan Mariaan Henny, consul (1856–1922)
1905–1911	Nicolaas Scheltema, consul (1870–1955)
1911–1916	Jacob Wolff, consul (1872–1942)
1917–1921	Emile Gobée, consul (1881–1954)
1921–1926	Charles Olke van der Plas, consul (1891–1977)
1926–1931	Daniël van der Meulen, consul/chargé d'affaires (1st term) (1894–1989)
1931–1939	Cornelis Adriaanse, chargé d'affaires (1896–1964)
1939–1940	Herman Henry Dingemans, chargé d'affaires (1st term) (1907–1985)
1940–1945	Daniël van der Meulen, chargé d'affaires/envoy (2nd term)
1945–1950	Herman Henry Dingemans, envoy (2nd term)

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Index of Persons

NB: Muh. = Muhammad; b. = ibn

Colophon

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